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Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania

A DISSERTATION IN EDUCATION

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

MABEL HALLER

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In memory of

WILLIAM NATHANIEL SCHWARZE

Moravian theologian and educator

1875-1948

PREFACE

The present study was suggested to the writer by the assertion of James Mulhern in his monumental work, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania,* that of all the religious groups in colonial Pennsylvania, "the Quakers, the Presbyterians, the Moravians, the Episcopalians, the Lutherans, and the Reformed were the most active educationally." A bibliographical search revealed that the early schools of four of those denominations had already been investigated and the results published, as follows: *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania,* by Thomas Woody; *Education in Pennsylvania Promoted by the Presbyterian Church, 1726-1837,* by Margaret Adair Hunter; *Early Lutheran Education in Pennsylvania,* by Charles Lewis Maurer; and *Eighteenth Century Reformed Church Schools,* by Frederick George Livingood. Concurrently, Etta M. Pettyjohn is concluding her research into the nineteenth-century educational activities of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania. To investigate early Moravian education in the State became the privilege of the writer, who herewith presents the results of six years of historical research, not only for the interest which her dissertation may hold for the Moravian Church, but also for the wider contribution which it, as a companion-piece to the other denominational studies, may make in the reconstruction of the whole educational picture of this Commonwealth.

The broad subject of "early Moravian education in Pennsylvania from 1740 to 1840" has been presented in three topical divisions, the sum of which aims to produce a complete unit of historical research. The origin and development of the *Unitas Fratrum,* the establishment of the Renewed Moravian Church, and the transplantation of Moravianism to America are described in Chapter I, as an illuminating backdrop to set off more effectively the panorama of Moravian education in Pennsylvania which the rest of the book unfolds. Chronological and geographical bases of organization have been employed in Chapters II to VI, which locate and trace the development of the early schools established and maintained by the Brethren in their three types of settlements: the exclusive Church settlements *(Ortsgemeinen)* of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz; the town and country congregations *(Stadt- und Landgemeinen)* scattered over eastern Pennsylvania; and the Indian missions posted throughout the State. Chapters VII to IX present an account of the educational principles and

instructional practices which were applied to all types and levels of Moravian schools for one hundred years after the founding of Moravianism in Pennsylvania.

The happy custom of the Brethren's Church of requesting each resident pastor to keep faithfully a full diary of the events transpiring within his congregation and community has preserved from colonial days a record of local occurrences that is a veritable treasure to the historian and antiquarian. The researcher in any phase of Moravian life finds himself in fertile fields indeed, and the yield can be great and significant. From such German manuscripts as the "Bethlehem Diary," the "Lititz Diary," the "Nazareth Diary," the diaries of the numerous town and country congregations, and the diaries of the Brethren's and Sisters' Choirs, all of which are safely and beautifully housed in the Moravian Archives Building in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the writer was able to glean many thousands of significant data reflecting the outer and inner life of early Moravian educational institutions. All translations from the German, except as otherwise credited, are by the writer. Pupils' diaries, journals, letters, notebooks and examination papers; principals' and teachers' records, reports and correspondence; schools' minutes, proceedings and ledgers; and Church registers and statistical documents are some of numerous other manuscript treasures, venerably preserved and readily accessible in the archives of the Moravian Seminary and College for Women at Bethlehem, of Linden Hall at Lititz, and of the Whitefield House at Nazareth.

A state-wide tour among Moravian congregations and schools, communities associated with or located near defunct Moravian schools, local and county court-houses and historical societies, public and private libraries, museums, German-American and Pennsylvania German societies, and the archives and libraries of theological seminaries and colleges of other Protestant denominations of German origin yielded such informative primary material as deed books, laws, charters, petitions, catalogues, circulars, courses of study, textbooks, student publications, public addresses and sermons, county and state reports and proceedings, newspapers and periodicals. Although the writer's practice has been to use, as far as possible, only original data, the vast field of secondary sources has in no way been overlooked. National, state, county and local histories, publications of local, county, and state historical societies, histories of the Moravian Church in Europe and America, histories of allied Protestant denominations, studies

of old world backgrounds of American civilization, biographies, geographies, atlases, statistics, histories of education, histories of national and racial groups, particularly of the German and Indian elements, were helpful in enabling the writer to recreate an authentic mental image of the spiritual, social and economic way of life of the people whose educational history she would trace and interpret.

To the many historical societies in Pennsylvania and to the public libraries and those connected with colleges and universities throughout the State, the writer thankfully acknowledges the courtesy of access to their files and shelves. She is specially indebted and grateful to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, to the State Library, to the Bethlehem Public Library, to the Moravian Historical Society, to the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, to the Moravian Seminary and College for Women, to the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, and to Linden Hall. Unfortunately, it is not possible to name all of the individuals who aided the writer in diversified ways during the six years of her investigation into the Brethren's education. She thanks collectively all of the Moravian pastors who responded to her personal or written inquiries on matters pertinent to their local congregations. For the first three years of her research, the writer was privileged to work under the scholarly and fatherly guidance of William N. Schwarze, then Archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Northern Province, President of the Moravian Historical Society, and President Emeritus of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary. His sudden death in 1948 dealt a stunning blow to the writer; but it was also a challenge to her to bring to completion the work into which he had put so much faith and effort, and to dedicate it to his memory. Bishops Kenneth G. Hamilton and Samuel H. Gapp have been gracious in sharing with the writer their profound knowledge of Moravian history, and helpful in clarifying numerous Moravian doctrinal truths for her, thus insuring a more correct interpretation and evaluation of the data which she was able to uncover. In no small measure are credit and gratitude due to George Montgomery for his assistance in proof-reading and editing the manuscript. The details of publication were aptly handled by the Reverend Robert H. Brennecke, chairman for publications of the Moravian Historical Society. Throughout her research the writer was ever extended the sympathetic yet critical interest of the three members of her the-

sis committee at the University of Pennsylvania. For reading her manuscript, for their invaluable suggestions and constructive criticisms, and for the inspiration which their scholarliness has been to the writer, she is truly indebted and sincerely grateful to E. Duncan Grizzell, Thomas Woody and Chester Stocker.

MABEL HALLER

March 4, 1953

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Chapter I

THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

I. The Ancient *Unitas Fratrum*

The long and honorable history of the oldest organized Protestant church in the world can be traced chronologically, geographically, and ecclesiastically through the series of changes which its name has undergone since its inception. Formal organization under the name *Unitas Fratrum,* The Unity of the Brethren, was effected in 1457, but subsequent years applied to it also the names of The Moravian Church, The Renewed Moravian Church, and later, on this continent, The Moravian Church in America, North and South.[1] The circumstances which gave birth to each of these names constitute the essential historical background of the church whose educational activities are the subject of this volume.

The Slavic lands of Moravia and Bohemia were converted to Christianity about the middle of the ninth century, chiefly through the labors of Cyril and Methodius, learned and zealous apostles of the Greek Church.[2] In the strife between the East and the West over the increasing importance and continual expansion of the Holy Roman Empire, Moravia and Bohemia gradually fell under the ecclesiastical domination of Rome. Nevertheless, intermittent protests against Roman Catholic usages and control characterized the church in those lands from the earliest days to the latter part of the fourteenth century.[3] This opposition culminated in the Bohemian Reformation of John Hus, who, on July 6, 1415, was burned at the stake at Constance, Switzerland, a martyr to religious liberty.[4]

In 1457, some of the Moravian and Bohemian followers of Hus found solace from persecution in the valley of Kunwald, about a

1. For the layman's use the name "Moravian" is preferable, inasmuch as the name of the "Unity of the Brethren" is so easily confused with the "United Brethren in Christ," the followers of the Reverend W. Otterbein, or with the earlier sects of "Brethren," with all of whom the Moravians had or have no connection.
2. DeSchweinitz, Edmund, *The Moravian Manual*, 16.
3. DeSchweinitz, Edmund, and Schultze, Augustus, *The Moravians and their Faith*, 4.
4. DeSchweinitz, Paul, "The German Moravian Settlements of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, IV, 57.

hundred miles east of Prague, on the confines of Silesia and Moravia. Here the Bohemian king, George Podiebrad, offered the protection of his estate and castle, "Lititz," to these spiritually-awakened men and women, who on March 1, 1457 founded a distinct organization, known later as the *Unitas Fratrum*.[5] Four charter principles were adopted by its members as the basis of their union: 1) the Bible was recognized as the only source of Christian doctrine; 2) public worship was to be administered in accordance with the teaching of the Scriptures and on the model of the Apostolic Church; 3) the Lord's Supper was to be received in faith and to be doctrinally defined in the language of the Bible; and 4) pious Christian life was required as an evidence of a saving faith, and was considered of greater importance than the dogmatic formulation of creed.[6] Lititz became the rallying point for religious persons throughout Moravia and Bohemia in such numbers that the new church increased rapidly. In 1467, its adherents formed into the "Association of the *Unitas Fratrum*" at Kunwald,[7] introduced a ministry of their own, and secured the episcopacy from Bishop Stephen of the Austrian Waldenses.[8]

Both the Roman Catholic and the national churches persecuted the infant *Unitas Fratrum*. The cruel persecution of 1461, of 1468, and of 1508 aimed to put the Unity out of existence. But here and there, a few friendly nobles, in accordance with their feudal rights and by the terms of the Bohemian Constitution, extended protection to the molested Brethren. The bishops and ministers of the Unity defied torture and braved death to encourage their people to be faithful. Public worship and synods were held secretly. The death of the king and of their chief persecutors, coupled with the uprising of the Turks in the East, brought an end to the Brethren's troubles for the time being, and they enjoyed comparative peace about 1516.[9]

On the eve of the Reformation, about the time when Martin Luther was nailing his theses to the church door at Wittenberg

5. Kreider, Charles D., *Moravian Faith and Worship*, 1.

6. Westphal, Milton C., "Early Moravian Pietism," *Pennsylvania History*, III, 166.

7. Uhler, Sherman, The Moravian Church and the Missions among the Delawares and the Indians of the North, 10.

8. The Waldenses were followers of Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, who about 1170 sold his goods and went among the poor preaching the Gospel. Scattered groups of Waldenses in Germany influenced, and afterwards joined, the Bohemian Brethren.

9. DeSchweinitz, Edmund, and Schultze, Augustus, *op. cit.*, 5.

in Germany, there were in Moravia and Bohemia some 400 congregations with 200,000 members of the ancient Unity of the Brethren,[10] using their own hymn book and catechism, proclaiming their doctrines in a confession of faith, employing two printing presses, and scattering Bohemian Bibles broadcast throughout the land.[11] A bitter persecution which broke out in 1547 led to the spread of the *Unitas Fratrum* into Poland, whither refugees fled, and there it grew so rapidly that in 1557 its Polish parishes were organized into a distinct ecclesiastical province. The Unity of the Brethren now embraced three federated divisions: the Moravian, the Bohemian, and the Polish. It increased more than ever in numbers and influence, founding colleges and theological seminaries. As religious liberty had been proclaimed in Moravia and Bohemia in 1609, it became a legally acknowledged and important church in those lands.[12]

In the early days of the Thirty Years' War, after the Bohemian Protestants had been defeated in the battle of White Mountain in 1620, Emperor Ferdinand inaugurated his counter-reformation, with the intention of exterminating evangelical religion in Moravia and Bohemia. This he accomplished almost completely by 1627.[13] Thousands perished. The two countries were in a great measure depopulated. War, persecution, martyrdom and banishment between 1656 and 1722 temporarily crushed the organization of the *Unitas Fratrum* and scattered its reduced membership. There remained only a "hidden seed," a kind of divinely inspired underground movement, the majority of the Brethren having been driven into exile.[14]

The Polish province of the *Unitas Fratrum* now acquired special importance. Here a new center of activity was established at Lissa. A number of parishes of refugees were also organized in Hungary; yet the Brethren hoped and prayed for a return to their native land. But the Peace of Westphalia excluded Moravia and Bohemia from the benefits of religious liberty which was elsewhere established; and, in 1656, Lissa was sacked and burned in a war which broke out between Poland and Sweden. Ever active in the promotion of church federation, the Polish parishes of

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10. Graham, J. A., *Missionary Expansion Since the Reformation*, 62.
11. Ellis, Franklin, and Evans, Samuel, *History of Lancaster County*, 469.
12. DeSchweinitz, Edmund, and Schultze, Augustus, *op. cit.*, 6.
13. DeSchweinitz, Edmund, *op. cit.*, 32.
14. Schwarze, William N., *The Moravian Settlement of Bethlehem*, 10.

the United Brethren were largely absorbed by other Protestant bodies, especially by the Reformed Church. For nearly half a century the *Unitas Fratrum* almost ceased to exist as a visible organization.[15]

The "hidden seed" in Moravia and Bohemia, however, remained, because John Amos Comenius, bishop of the Church and renowned educator, filled with a prophetic anticipation of its future renewal, had republished its history, confession, and discipline; had commended its future members to the care of the Church of England; and had taken steps to perpetuate its episcopate. For a period of more than fifty years, clergymen who served parishes of the Reformed Church were, at the same time, consecrated bishops of the *Unitas Fratrum*, that the succession might not die out.[16]

II. The Renewed Moravian Church

In 1707, George Jaeschke, an aged patriarch of Moravia descended from the Brethren, spoke on his death-bed with great assurance of the prompt renewal of their Church. Fifteen years later, two of his grandsons, Augustine and Jacob Neisser, with their families, followed Christian David, who had been active in promoting a revival of religion in certain Moravian villages, to Saxony, where, on June 17, 1722, they began to build the town of Herrnhut, on the baronial estate of the pious Nicolaus Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf,[17] who had offered them asylum.[18] Herrnhut soon became the rallying center for the descendants of the Brethren, several hundred of whom migrated from Moravia and Bohemia. Earnest, awakened souls, attracted also from all parts of Germany to this new religious colony, coalesced with them to

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15. DeSchweinitz, Edmund, and Schultze, Augustus, *op. cit.*, 7. Only three denominations were recognized in Europe by the terms of the Peace of Westphalia—Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed. The Reformed Church of Poland permitted the Moravians to register with the government as Reformed and yet maintain their own congregations, bishops, pastors and *cultus*. Thus a few Unity congregations were able to continue to exist in Poland.

16. *Ibid.*, 8.

17. Nicolaus Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, 1700-1760, was the son of George Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf, a cabinet-minister at the Saxon Court. He was educated for the service of the state, and filled a government office for some years. In 1727 he resigned, and devoted himself to the cause of the Moravian Brethren; in 1737, he was consecrated a bishop of their Church, at the head of which he stood until his death. *Infra*, 286ff.

18. DeSchweinitz, Edmund, and Schultze, Augustus, *op. cit.*, 8.

form the Renewed Moravian Church.[19] Count Zinzendorf became the leading bishop of the resuscitated church and devoted all his property and energy to its work. However, being a Lutheran by birth and by conviction, he did not wish to see the renewed *Unitas Fratrum* interfere with the rights and privileges of the State Church. His plan was to establish on the continent of Europe, in Great Britain, and in America, exclusively Moravian settlements, from which the temptations of the world might be shut out, and in which could be fostered the highest form of spiritual life.[20] In the new world, he envisioned opportunities for the missionary, the evangelist, and the teacher; and especially in Pennsylvania, where many and varied religious sects had settled, he hoped to realize a "Congregation of God in the Spirit," his earnest effort to unite all the various German settlers into one religious organization, in which ". . . the several churches and sects, without giving up their creedal differences, might live and labor together in a higher unity of the Spirit."[21]

III. The Moravian Church in America

The first Moravian missionary in America was George Boehnisch, who landed in Philadelphia on September 22, 1734. He was accompanied by Christopher Baus and Christopher Wiegner, a Schwenkfelder. These three men had been sent to America to conduct a colony of Schwenkfelders thither, the latter being Silesian exiles who had enjoyed refuge on Zinzendorf's estate, but who, in 1733, were compelled by a royal edict to leave Saxony. Zinzendorf wanted to find asylum for these refugees in Georgia, where free grants of land had been promised in order to prevent Spanish encroachments on the land of the colony. The Schwenkfelders set out for Georgia but en route changed their minds and their destination, and went to Pennsylvania, where they settled in Towamensing township in what is now Montgomery County.[22]

This shift in plans left the promise of grants of land on the Count's hands. He used the opportunity, thus afforded, to create a refuge for the Moravian exiles. To his call for volunteers more than twenty Brethren responded; and these, headed by Augustus

19. DeSchweinitz, Paul, *op. cit.*, 59.

20. DeSchweinitz, Edmund, and Schultze, Augustus, *op. cit.*, 9.

21. Hinke, William J., "Diaries of Missionary Travels among the German Settlers in the American Colonies, 1743-1748," *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, XXXIV, 69.

22. Uhler, Sherman, *op. cit.*, 28.

Gottlieb Spangenberg, [23] prepared to leave for Georgia by way of England. Spangenberg was granted by General Oglethorpe 500 acres on the Ogechee River for Count Zinzendorf, and fifty acres near Savannah for himself, plus the desired immunities of religious freedom and exemption from bearing arms.[24] The first group of ten men sailed from London in January of 1735 and landed in Savannah three months later on April seventeenth.[25] In February, 1736, another group arrived, somewhat larger, and led by Bishop David Nitschmann.[26]

Spangenberg spent almost a year in Georgia, but with the coming of Nitschmann, he left for Pennsylvania where he had been assigned to look up the Schwenkfelders. He arrived at the home of Christopher Wiegner at Skippack in present Montgomery County, in April, 1736. Nitschmann followed Spangenberg to Pennsylvania to ascertain the religious conditions of the German population there, and in June of 1736, he sailed for Europe. Peter Boehler[27] arrived in Savannah on October 7, 1738. When the Spanish prepared to invade Georgia in 1739, the English demanded the military assistance of the Moravians. The latter, whose faith rendered them averse to bearing arms, were about to leave Georgia, when George Whitefield, the English evangelist who had ended his visit there, offered Boehler and his Moravian

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23. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, *alias* "Joseph," who for almost twenty years was at the head of the American branch of the Moravian Church, was born on July 15, 1704 in Klettenberg, Saxony, the son of the Lutheran clergyman of that town. He studied theology at Jena, and in 1732 was appointed a professor at Halle. Thence he went to Herrnhut in 1733, and became Zinzendorf's trustworthy assistant in the religious movement to which he devoted his life. He was in America four times: from 1735 to 1739 in Georgia and Pennsylvania, from 1744 to 1749 in Bethlehem and Philadelphia, from 1751 to 1752 in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, and for the last time from 1754 to 1762. He returned to Europe in July, 1762, and until his death in 1792 he held a seat in the Unity's Elders' Board. *Infra*, 294ff.

24. Reichel, Levin T., *Early History of the United Brethren*, 65.

25. Harden, William, "The Moravians of Georgia and Pennsylvania as Educators," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, II, 47.

26. David Nitschmann was born in Zauchtenthal, Moravia, in 1696, emigrated to Herrnhut in 1724, was consecrated a bishop in 1735, spent much of his time in travel, but was a permanent resident of Bethlehem after 1761, and died there in October, 1772.

27. Peter Boehler, chaplain of "The First Sea Congregation" which embarked on the "Catherine" and landed at Philadelphia on June 7, 1742, was born in Frankfurt-am-Main, in 1712, consecrated a bishop in 1748, and died in London, in 1775.

followers passage on his sloop, the "Savannah."[28] The company arrived in Philadelphia on April 25, 1740.

Whitefield, with the aid of his financial agent, William Seward of London, had purchased 5,000 acres on the forks of the Delaware in present-day Northampton County. It was his intention to erect a school for Negro orphans, and to found a village for Englishmen who stood in danger of harsh penalties against insolvent debtors.[29] He called the place Nazareth[30] and engaged the Moravians whom he had brought north from Georgia to do the carpentry work, and Peter Boehler to superintend the erection of the building. In November, by which time the outer walls were constructed only to the second floor, Boehler and Whitefield had a bitter altercation over doctrine, and the Moravian workmen were forthwith dismissed.[31] Simultaneously and fortunately, Bishop David Nitschmann arrived in Pennsylvania in December of 1740, and purchased from William Allen 500 acres of woodland at the confluence of the Monocacy Creek and the Lehigh River, which became the famous settlement of Bethlehem, destined to be the administrative, evangelistic, missionary and educational capital of Moravian Pennsylvania.[32]

In his report to the authorities at Herrnhut concerning his observation of the state of affairs in Pennsylvania, Spangenberg wrote in 1736:

> . . . Thus there is now a two-fold work for the Brethren who shall go thither in pursuance of the Lord's will: the Gospel may be preached to many thousands who know nothing of it, or who have an indescribable hunger for it; and the awakened who are desirous for fellowship must be gathered into congregations. And this is not the work for one man, but for many. Moreover, there are the Indians, who do not willingly dwell near the Europeans; for them it may be that the hour of grace has sounded. And in the whole country there are few schools, and there is almost no one who makes the youth his concern. One may indeed see signs of a wakening up here and there in the land; and it is often not otherwise than if a breath from the Lord was passing through the entire land and bringing to all its movement and spirit of in-

28. *Infra*, 53.

29. *Journal of a voyage from Savannah to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to England, 1740, by William Seward, Gentleman Companion in travel with the Rev. M. George Whitefield*, April 20, 1740.

30. *Infra*, 54.

31. Reincke, Abraham, *A Register of the Members of the Moravian Church*, 60; also, *Infra*, 54f.

32. *Infra*, 9ff.

> quiry. But since the affair is so extensive, everyone considers himself lacking in ability to take it in hand.[33]

This report had three immediate results of far-reaching significance. It led to the sending of many additional colonies of evangelists, who not only settled at Bethlehem and Nazareth, but also established town and country congregations as far west as the Susquehanna River and beyond the Blue Mountains to the north. Its second effect was the appointment of Christian Henry Rauch to commence an heroic mission work of conversion and education among the American Indians.[34] And, in the third place, it gave birth to the Moravians' extensive and intensive system of education which the following chapters attempt authentically to recreate and impartially to interpret.

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33. Spangenberg's "Report to the Authorities in Europe," noted in the "Diary of Marienborn," and translated by Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 104-5.

34. *Infra*, 193.

Chapter II

BETHLEHEM: THE CENTER OF MORAVIAN ECONOMY AND EDUCATION IN PENNSYLVANIA

I. The Founding and Development of Bethlehem

Not Jerusalem,
Rather Bethlehem
Giveth that which makes life rich . . .

This chorale, which appropriately gave Bethlehem its name, was improvised and sung by the Count von Zinzendorf as he and a small band of pious Moravian pioneers met to celebrate the Christmas Eve vigils of 1741. Their meeting place was the first house of their prospective settlement for which Bishop David Nitschmann had purchased from Justice Nathaniel Irish, agent of William Allen of Philadelphia, five hundred acres of land at the junction of the Monocacy Creek and the Lehigh River.[1] That log house near the Lehigh, completed in March of 1741, was the retreat to which the brethren and sisters had removed after having been given peremptory orders by the Reverend George Whitefield to leave Nazareth, where they had been employed by him in the erection of his proposed school for Negro orphans.[2] When the arrival of thirty-five men and women, conducted from Europe by Peter Boehler, brought the number of persons in Bethlehem to one hundred and twenty, a Moravian congregation was organized there on June 24, 1741. Immediately preparations were begun for the building of a large, two-story community house, or *Gemeinhaus,*[3] the cornerstone of which was solemnly laid on September twentieth.[4]

Bethlehem was intended to be the spiritual center of all Moravians in the new world, to serve as the strategic point for evangelistic work among the white settlers in Pennsylvania and adjacent colonies, and to operate as a base for extensive missionary work among the Indians. To set this pretentious program in motion and to sustain it effectively, a unique system of management

1. Reichel, Levin T., *Early History of the Church of the United Brethren*, 87.
2. Thaeler, A. D., *Moravian Bethlehem*, 2.
3. The Bethlehem *Gemeinhaus* was used variously as a home and hospice, manse and church, administrative office, school, dispensary and town-hall.
4. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 89.

called the "General Economy" was instituted by Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, whom Zinzendorf had named the *Vicarius Generalis* of his religious projects in America.[5] This was a communal arrangement by which each member of the settlement labored for the general good, and the financial results of all the work went into a general treasury for the support of the broad Christian enterprises to which the Church was committed.[6] In return, each worker was furnished subsistence from the common source, including board and clothing, medical attention, instruction of his children, and support in his old age.[7] There was, however, no surrender of personal liberty. No papers were signed by any of the Brethren, although all had been brought to Pennsylvania at the expense of the Church. Forfeit of private property was not required, although many who were possessed of means voluntarily contributed to the common cause, or lent money without interest, or gave the Church the benefit of their estates on condition that they be cared for.[8] Under the communal system which lasted until 1762,[9] membership in the settlement was divided into two categories. The greater group was the "Pilgrim Congregation," whose function was to go forth as evangelists, missionaries, and teachers among the white settlers and Indian natives of Pennsylvania and contiguous colonies; the lesser was known as the "Home Congregation," or central household, whose duty it was to take care of the general establishment and to develop the resources of the settlement to full capacity in order to support themselves and the Pilgrim Congregation.[10]

For want of adequate living quarters, for greater efficiency in the operation of the communal system, and for more effective spiritual supervision, an elaborate system of "choirs," or classes, was set up according to the members' age, sex, and marital status. Each of the following groups constituted a *Chor:* the married

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5. Bittinger, Lucy F., *German Religious Life in Colonial Times*, 90.
6. Thaeler, A. D., *op. cit.*, 6.
7. Schlegel, Albert G. W., Moravian Education in Pennsylvania, 4.
8. Schwarze, William N., *The Moravian Settlement of Bethlehem*, 15.
9. Although the Economy was dissolved by common consent and with smooth efficiency in 1762, Bethlehem remained an exclusive church settlement until 1843, in which no one was permitted to purchase land or real estate or to engage in business pursuits within its corporate limits unless he was a member of the Moravian Church, and whose secularities were administered by a board of overseers appointed by the Congregation council.
10. Thaeler, A. D., *loc. cit.*

people, the widows, the widowers, the single sisters, the single brethren, the older girls, the older boys, and the children, all under capable leaders responsible to a general governing board of elders.[11] Each choir had its living quarters and maintained its own housekeeping. The establishment of choir houses by the several divisions became a leading feature of every regular Moravian settlement, particularly at Bethlehem. A code of choir principles was developed; a system of organization and leadership for each choir was elaborated; regular choir meetings, choir liturgies, and anniversary choir festivals were introduced. Careful supervision was exercised over the spiritual and educational life of each group, but a hermit-like or monastic life was never fostered. For the primitive conditions of the time as well as for the opportunities of the day, the plan proved to be effective and practical, as achievement and services shown by the records abundantly prove.

Although the Moravians' initial capital in Pennsylvania consisted of only "two uncultivated tracts of land,[12] several dwelling houses, fertile genius and willingness to work,"[13] by 1747 there were already thirty-two different industries in operation in Bethlehem, conducted for the benefit of the Church under the judicious supervision of committees responsible to a board of direction, the *Aufseher Collegium*, of which Spangenberg was chairman.[14] When the first general store was opened in Bethlehem in 1753, there were over a hundred items for sale that were made in the settlement which then comprised only 600 people. The effects of the General Economy were numerous and far-reaching. Without such a system of collective enterprise, the Brethren probably would not have been able to carry out what they believed to be their distinct mission in America. German immigration to this country had grown to considerable proportions, having brought about 100,000 people to Pennsylvania alone by 1740. By 1790 one-third of the population of the state was of German origin.[15] In general, they were "as sheep without a shep-

11. Schwarze, William N., *loc. cit.*

12. Besides the 500-acre tract of Bethlehem, the Moravians purchased 5,000 acres of land at Nazareth from the Reverend George Whitefield, whose plan to establish a school for Negro children and a town for his English followers had failed. *Supra*, 7.

13. Schwarze, William N., *op. cit.*, 16.

14. Hamilton, J. Taylor, *A History of the Moravian Church*, 144.

15. Fortenbaugh, Robert, and Tarman, H. James, *The Pennsylvania Story*, 71.

herd." Their religious condition was especially deplorable because, by reason of sectarian diversity, they were distraught and demoralized. To minister to the religious needs of these people, to infuse a new spirit of unity into all church communions, to provide instruction and care for the youth in whose interest but few schools had been established in the whole country, and to take the Gospel to the Indians, the Moravian Brethren had come to the new world.[16] And they rendered themselves equal to the demands by adopting the communal system of dividing the members of their settlements into two sets, one portion "to fly to every region of America as evangelists, as doves from the dove-cote";[17] the other, to provide for the support of the missionaries, preachers and teachers, by carrying on manufactures and trades of every sort for the benefit of the Church and its enterprises.

Under such a religio-communal arrangement in which all able-bodied adults placed their time, talents and labor at the disposal of the Church, the family unit and the private home were practically non-existent. In 1756, forty-eight of Bethlehem's 665 adults were in missionary service; fifty-four were employed in itinerant preaching and teaching among the evangelistically and educationally neglected settlers in various locations in Pennsylvania; and ninety children at Bethlehem and Nazareth had their parents abroad, mostly on the Gospel's account.[18] All the infants of the communal colony, when hardly eighteen months of age, were placed by their mothers in the nursery, where widowed or unmarried sisters devoted all their time to caring for them, and where they were fed, clothed, and instructed at the common expense. When five or six years old, the children were placed in male or female boarding schools, where they received further instruction suited to their requirements. At approximately eighteen years, they joined the choir-houses of the single brethren or single sisters, where they remained under the spiritual and temporal superintendence of the choir elders until they entered the services of the Church, either as members of the Pilgrim Congregation to

16. Spangenberg, Augustus G., "Report to the Authorities in Europe," noted in the "Diary of Marienborn," and translated by Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 104-5.

17. *MS.* Latin document, containing prayer by the Reverend Francis Christian Lembke, deposited in the cornerstone of Nazareth Hall, May 3, 1755, the dedication day of that edifice.

18. Spangenberg, Augustus G., Report to Governor Denny, Bethlehem, November 29, 1756, containing a Catalogue of all the men, women and children who for the present belong to the Bethlehem Economy, 1756.

go forth as missionaries, evangelists and teachers, or as economists at home, or as settlers in some other place where the General Economy was not introduced.[19] The care and education of the rising generation were the full responsibility of the Church, and very little scope was left for parental training or maternal home influences. In 1756, sixty-two brethren and sisters were employed in the education of children at Bethlehem and Nazareth as teachers and attendants, and seventy-two were bishops, elders, deacons or supervisors.[20] Schools played a supremely important rôle in every Moravian communal settlement, and an extensive system of educational institutions was developed. Before Count Zinzendorf left America, he wrote in his *Pennsylvanisches Testament:* "It is one of my great hopes that Bethlehem may become a pattern for the education of children."[21] The full extent to which that hope was realized is revealed in the remainder of this chapter.

II. The History of Girls' Education in Bethlehem and Its Development into the Young Ladies' Seminary

In the small group that accompanied Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf on his visit from his baronial estate in Herrnhut to his colonial venture in Pennsylvania in December of 1741, was his sixteen-year old daughter, Benigna. Assisted by two women and three men, she opened a school in the Ashmead House in Germantown, on May 4, 1742, with twenty-five girls in attendance.[22] This was the actual beginning of the educational work of the Moravian Church in Pennsylvania, and the start of the long, continuous, rather checkered career of the institution which was probably the second church boarding school for girls to be established in the United States, the Ursuline nuns at New Orleans having established the first in 1727.[23] In less than two months, on June 28th, the school was transferred from Germantown to the west half of the yet unfinished *Gemeinhaus* in Bethlehem.[24] Local circumstances made it difficult to continue the little boarding school for girls during the ensuing autumn and

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19. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 200.
20. Spangenberg, Augustus G., Report to Governor Denny, *loc. cit.*
21. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 197.
22. Levering, J. Mortimer, *History of Bethlehem 1741-1892*, 105.
23. Mulhern, James, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, 15.
24. Meyers, Elizabeth L., *The Story of the Gemeinhaus*, 2.

(Courtesy of Frank A. Banyas)

Das Gemeinhaus, Bethlehem

winter; and on August 20th, the girls who lived in Germantown were returned to their homes.[25] Some of the single sisters seem to have gone to Germantown to continue their school work, presumably in the Ashmead House, although that is uncertain.[26] On July 3, 1743, they returned to Bethlehem to await the completion of the new addition to the *Gemeinhaus,*[27] in the east wing of which the school was reopened on October 19th of the same year.[28] Its fourth home, around Christmas of 1744, was in the log building "which was no longer needed for hospital purposes because the Brethren's House contained an infirmary,"[29] and which was then occupied by the young women of the settlement.

Meanwhile, the large stone house at Nazareth, commenced by Moravian mechanics in 1740 for George Whitefield, the evangelist, and intended by him to serve as a school for Negro children, had been finished, the whole estate having become the property of the Moravian Church. Into this house, yet standing and called the "Whitefield House," the twenty-six inmates of the girls'

25. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 148.
26. *Ibid.*, 21.
27. Cooley, Arthur S., "The Homes of the Moravian Seminary," *Bethlehem Globe Times,* Bi-centennial Supplement, June, 1942.
28. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 166.
29. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *A History of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies,* 121.

school were moved from Bethlehem on May 28, 1745, the single sisters following them on June 1st.[30] At Bethlehem, about 1745, there remained only the nursery school for boys and girls under five years of age, and for the educational benefit of a few older girls in domestic service a special evening school kept by the Reverend John Christopher Pyrlæus, a distinguished scholar, musician, Indian linguist and missionary, at that time temporarily in Bethlehem.[31] Along similar lines, the wife of Bishop Spangenberg, relieved of official duties, opened a writing class for women at Bethlehem in December of 1748.[32]

On August 24, 1745, the stone "Bell House" was begun as a refectory for the men in the Brethren's House, with a general dining-room for those living in the adjacent *Gemeinhaus*, and with quarters for married people in the upper stories.[33] In 1748, a new and larger Brethren's House[34] was built. On November 15th of the same year, the single sisters were brought back from Nazareth to occupy the vacated Brethren's House, and on Jan-

(Courtesy of Frank A. Banyas)

The Bell House, Bethlehem

30. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 205.
31. *Ibid.*, 206.
32. *Ibid.*, 229.
33. *Diarium der Gemeine zu Bethlehem, den 6. Januar, 1749.*
34. This building later became "Colonial Hall" of the Moravian Seminary and College for Women.

uary 6, 1749, the school, numbering sixteen girls with four sisters as teachers,[35] returned from Nazareth and took up its new quarters in the Bell House.[36] The wife of John de Watteville, the former Countess Benigna, who had opened the original girls' school in Germantown six years before, helped in its reorganization and permanent establishment in Bethlehem at that time. The special significance of the translocation from Nazareth to Bethlehem on January 6, 1749, was that from that date the school's undisturbed local history began. Although it continued to shift from one building to another, it did not move from Bethlehem for precisely two centuries.[37] Furthermore, in the process of consolidation for financial and other reasons, this institution gradually absorbed whatever girls' schools remained in the nearby town and country congregations. On May 24, 1749, fourteen girls of the abandoned school in the Bechtel House in Germantown[38] came to Bethlehem.[39] Three of them joined the older girls' choir[40] and eleven were placed in the vacant Ysselstein House,[41] which was used at times as an adjunct to the Bethlehem Girls' Boarding School.[42] In August, 1750, when the Frederickstown school[43] was closed, its pupils were removed to the Oley and the Maguntsche schools.[44] In September, 1751, both the boys' school and the girls' school at Oley[45] were closed because they could no longer be supported by the Church.[46] The girls who were not returned to their homes were brought to the Bethlehem school.[47]

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35. *Das Diarium der Ledigen Schwestern, den 6. Januar, 1749*, names them as Philipena Loesch, Mary Robin, Mary Zerb, and Mary Burnet.
36. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 10. Januar, 1754.*
37. *Infra*, 32.
38. *Infra*, 173.
39. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 24. Mai, 1749.*
40. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 27.
41. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, loc. cit.*
42. The little school in the Ysselstein House was closed on February 25, 1750, and reopened as an adjunct on August 12, 1751. When it closed for a second time on December 4, 1753, the girls remaining in it, together with six from the Bethlehem school, were transferred to Nazareth, where they were domiciled in one of the old log houses and a school was continued until 1759. *Infra*, 58f.
43. *Infra*, 162ff.
44. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 31. August, 1750.*
45. *Infra*, 124ff.
46. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 14. September, 1751.*
47. *Ibid., den 15. September, 1751.*

Thus the boarding school at Bethlehem grew in numbers. During 1751, twelve girls were added.[48] The Church authorities were soon compelled to announce to the public that they could not continue to receive daughters who were not members of the Moravian Church; and even in the case of the latter, apart from the children of ministers and missionaries, only those were retained whose parents were willing, without any objection, to agree to all of the regulations of the time. The majority was very willing to do this, because

> . . . in those early days it was a privilege highly prized to have a daughter under such care and training, taken from the remote backwoods homes in many cases and brought in contact with gentle, pious women of refinement; and while in many things they had to conform to a very plain way of life and to join in various kinds of manual labor, they were taught not merely reading and writing in English and German, arithmetic and geography, something of history in evening talks, something of botany on their rambles around Bethlehem, but also plain and fancy needlework and vocal and instrumental music.[49]

The sharply increased enrollment between 1750 and 1770 necessitated frequent physical modifications and adaptations in the Bell House to accommodate the school's household. In a conference on economic matters held in Bethlehem on October 7, 1750, it was proposed

> . . . to tear down the stoves used for cooking purposes in the *Gemeinhaus* on the Sisters' side, and to rebuild them, because they are much too narrow to be swept out and are dangerous. At the same time that the new stoves are constructed, it would be well to build a separate kitchen for the school children because one must plan and prepare their diet to fit their ages and conditions of health.[50]

This suggestion of a separate kitchen for the school was unanimously accepted.[51] Again, in 1755, when the school consisted of seventy-five pupils, it was considered expedient

> . . . to put twelve of the older girls into a separate room, in charge of two sisters, Cornelia Ysselstein and Maria Beroth. The purpose of this rearrangement was to enable these older girls to become better acquainted with all kinds of domestic arts

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48. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1751.*

49. Address by Bishop J. Mortimer Levering, included in Reichel and Bigler, *History of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies*, 29.

50. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 7. Oktober, 1754.*

51. *Ibid.*

> and sciences.[52] This change meant that some of the children from the lower rooms, which were very over-crowded, could be moved up the line. But this changing about was not accomplished without the shedding of tears. However, the children were happier than ever once they became acquainted, and grew very fond of their new companions. Because no separate room for dining or for school purposes was left after this rearrangement, the school was given the use of the single sisters' dining hall for those necessary purposes. Matters were so regulated that the single sisters suffered no interference, especially since they have a separate entrance to their rooms. The children ate there for the first time today and to the accompaniment of beautiful music. Our dear Father Nitschmann sang as the final number the lovely Moravian hymn, *We Would Praise Our Lord on High.*[53]

Apparently this arrangement was not sufficient to overcome the difficulties due to over-crowding, for later in the same year a suggestion was made "to divide the dining-hall of the married people's choir, so that the girls' school might have one-half, and the choir of married couples the other."[54] The plan was put into effect on August 14, 1755.[55]

The school continued to flourish without interruption, even during the perilous days of the French and Indian War, with an enrollment of eighty-one pupils in 1756 and eighty-nine in 1757. The *Memorabilia des Kinderchors fürs Jahr 1756* relate that

> . . . our school did not suffer during these months rendered so dangerous through war, because it was in our Father's loving care. Its only part in the war was its frequent singing of *Keep Us in Thy Grace*, which our teachers considered a splendid defense barricade. We are thankful to our dear Father in Heaven not only for turning away all evil from our bodies, but for keeping our hearts sealed from the earthly din which passed through our town.

In a report to the Bethlehem congregation in March of 1759, it was announced that "lack of space in Bethlehem would necessitate the translocation of all of our boys to Nazareth Hall, and the transfer of both the girls' school and the girls' nursery in Nazareth to Bethlehem."[56] Accordingly, on June 6th of that year, 111

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52. In his *History of Women's Education in the United States*, I, 422, Thomas Woody states: "Early emphasis upon 'learning to do by doing' was in vogue especially in the Moravian Seminaries at Bethlehem and Salem, in connection with the practical arts of the household."

53. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 22. April, 1755.*

54. *Ibid., Beilage zu August, den 3. August, 1755.*

55. *Ibid., den 14. August, 1755.*

56. *Ibid., den 14, März, 1759.*

boys, accompanied by nineteen teachers, left for their new abode in Nazareth Hall, and the quarters vacated by them in the stone house, built as an additional workshop for craftsmen and as living quarters for married men and families, then the northern one of the three houses on the east side of Main Street,[57] were immediately put in order[58] for the "103 girls who entered with 16 sisters in a nice procession to occupy the vacated boys' house, where they were introduced to their rooms and dormitory by Brother Peter Boehler."[59] This building was presumably an adjunct to the school in the Bell House. The thirteen inmates of the girls' school at Nazareth were conducted to Bethlehem by Brother Graf and also were domiciled in the house which the boys had just vacated.[60] The diarist relates:

> In this translocation of all of our Bethlehem boys to Nazareth Hall, due to lack of adequate space, and in the transfer to Bethlehem of the nursery and the girls' school which had been housed in Nazareth, one could feel the friendly presence of our dear Saviour, the Friend of children. Such a feeling of tenderness and such an atmosphere of grace accompanied the occasion that it will not soon be forgotten.[61]

He continues in subsequent diary entries:

> . . . The girls' school held its 'work-lovefeast,' in which the pupils exhibited real proof of their industry and talents, and were encouraged to continue doing so well. It was indeed a pleasing sight to see their rather well-spun yarn and other handiwork of the past few months piled up in a large heap, altogether 300 pounds of fine work . . . [62]

and

> . . . after listening to the reading of the beautiful diary of the girls' school for the month of August, 1761, it could only be hoped that the same spirit of simplicity, kindliness and open-mindedness might always prevail among our adults as it does among our children.[63]

In 1764, twenty-eight of the girls who had been transferred from the Bell House to the Family House, when the latter was vacated by the boys' removal to Nazareth in 1759, were returned

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57. This house, later known variously as the "Family House," the "Children's House," and the "Economy House," was on the site now partially occupied by the Moravian Book Store.
58. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 6. Juni, 1759.*
59. *Ibid., den 8. Juni, 1759.*
60. *Ibid., den 18. Juni, 1759.*
61. *Ibid., Memorabilia von Bethlehem und Nazareth, 1759.*
62. *Ibid., den 20. Februar, 1760.*
63. *Ibid., den 2. September, 1761.*

to those quarters in the Bell House which the girls' nursery had occupied until it was transplanted to the Family House on May 14, 1764.[64] The Bell House and the Family House together accommodated ninety-seven girls and twenty-three teachers. Further modification was effected to meet the school's expansion, when, in December of 1764, the basement of the Family House which had been used for the weaving of linen was transformed into a

> . . . beautiful, spacious dining-hall, which could serve also as an auditorium for meetings in inclement weather. In this way space was gained for a day-school for the town girls, to whom the former dining-hall has been turned over for school purposes.[65]

From that time forth, all official records of the Moravian Church refer to the girls' boarding school as the *Gemein-Mädchenanstalt* in a conscientious attempt to distinguish that institution from the day school to which the name of *Ortsmädchenanstalt* was assigned. The former was a congregational female seminary, a type of institution which became popular in America after 1775 and continued to be most important for women's education until about 1870.[66] The Bethlehem Seminary included both an elementary and a higher school. In 1771, the elementary department contained thirty-four girls; the higher division, fifteen. The *Ortsmädchenanstalt*, or town day school, consisted of fourteen girls. The Seminary and day school employed a combined total of sixteen teachers.[67]

Before 1769, both in Europe and America, all the children of Moravian settlements had been educated in their schools at the expense of the general treasury of the Unity.[68] The extreme pecuniary embarrassment of the Church of the United Brethren, arising from the vast extent of their gospel enterprises and the heavy expenses attending them, induced the General Synod, held at Marienborn in Germany, in 1769, to adopt a rigid system of retrenchment of expenditures.[69] From that time only the children of ministers and missionaries continued to be so educated at the expense of the Church.[70] Accordingly, a number of the Bethle-

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64. *Ibid., den 17. August, 1764.*
65. *Ibid., den 8. Dezember, 1764,* and *Memorabilia, 1764.*
66. Woody, Thomas, *op. cit.*, I, 457.
67. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1771.*
68. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 533.
69. Reichel, Levin T., *A History of Nazareth Hall,* 22.
70. Levering, J. Mortimer, *loc. cit.*

hem Seminary girls were returned to their parents,[71] and a reorganization of the school was made by the Provincial Helpers' Board[72] with a view to more efficient and economical management.[73]

A desire to entrust their children to the Brethren for education had been expressed on the part of parents of other denominations soon after the former settled in Pennsylvania. The Brethren's peculiar organization, however, at that early time prevented them from gratifying this wish.[74] After the American Revolution, generals and statesmen and distinguished men of all professions whom the affairs of war had brought to Bethlehem and who had seen for themselves, also urged the authorities of the Moravian Church to admit into their boarding school pupils of all denominations.[75] Such applications having been received from time to time, the Synod of 1782 was apprized of this call from the public and was requested to consider the expediency of opening boarding schools in several of the American congregations. The project was favorably entertained by the Synod, and its development was referred to Bishop John de Watteville, who had been deputed by his colleagues of the Unity Elders' Conference to hold a visitation in the American congregations, a measure urgently called for by the exigencies of the times. [76] Furthermore, during the succeeding years, as the day schools in the various Moravian settlements improved in character and efficiency, the number of boarding pupils in the Bethlehem Seminary steadily decreased, inasmuch as but a few daughters of missionaries entered annually, while the number of those whose terms expired was considerably greater. By 1781, there were only six children in the elementary department, and five older girls in the advanced school.[77]

As a result of conferences held by the bishop with the pastors of Bethlehem and Nazareth, the following notice was issued in September of 1785:

> Many friends of the Brethren's Unity have desired, and have

71. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1770.*
72. The *Provinzial Helfer Conferenz* was the executive and supervisory board of the Church, later known as the Provincial Elders' Conference, *Infra*, 350.
73. *Protocoll der Provinzial Helfer Conferenz, den 28. Mai, 1771.*
74. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 527.
75. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Beilage, Mai, 1795.*
76. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 41.
77. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1781.*

frequently expressed such desire, to send their daughters to our educational institutions, which privilege unfortunately we were not able to grant to them because of the lack of necessary facilities. But because we feel obliged to be of every possible service to our fellowmen, we were led to arrange for the establishment of a school and academy for young and older boys in Nazareth, and likewise for the founding of a school and seminary for young and older girls here in Bethlehem, to which such parents and guardians, who have a special predilection for and confidence in the Brethren's educational institutions, may send their boys and girls. With God's merciful help, girls will be kept in the Bethlehem Seminary from their fifth to their twelfth or sixteenth year, as long as it may please their parents to have them there, and they will be reared in the fear of God and in the admonition of the Lord in every good habit, and will be taught reading and writing in both the German and English languages, also arithmetic, sewing, knitting, and other feminine crafts. Likewise they will be instructed in history, geography, and music, with great care and faithfulness, and as their health and strength may permit. For board and room, light, heat, laundry, supervision, and instruction, the cost for each daughter will be twenty pounds, Pennsylvania currency, and a quarter of this amount five pounds, must be paid in advance. For clothing, laundry, mending (whatever of the latter cannot be done by the pupils themselves), bedding, medicine, books, paper, pens, silk, sewing-needles, and the like of which is not supplied by the parents, also for private tutoring in music and drawing, whenever such is requested, a separate charge will have to be made to the parents and guardians, for which a bill will be sent to them quarterly.

In respect to the clothing which parents and guardians will send with the girls, it is requested and expected that it be decent and modest and as far removed as possible from vanity.

For supplying and maintaining necessary furniture, musical instruments and the like, an addition fee of two Spanish dollars will be made.

The length of time parents or guardians choose to leave their girls in our school is left entirely to their discretion. But it is requested that their stay at the school be interruped as infrequently as possible by visits to their homes, especially if the latter are far distant from Bethlehem.

We maintain the right to return to their parents or guardians, such children who cannot be kept in the school without harm to themselves or to others.

Those parents and guardians who wish to send their children to this school and who are fully in accord with all the conditions set forth in this notice, are requested to apply to the incumbent pastor in Bethlehem.[78]

On October 2, 1785, the former girls' school which had been

78. *Notice by Brother John Andrew Huebner, Pastor of the Bethlehem Congregation, September 2, 1785.*

reduced to only six boarding pupils and fifteen day scholars was closed,[79] and arrangements were made in the house to receive pupils from afar. The twenty-one remaining pupils were placed in charge of three teachers, Sulamith Nyberg, Susanna Langaard and Maria Elizabeth Beroth.[80] John Frederick Oerter and his wife became curators;[81] and to John Andrew Huebner, pastor of the Bethlehem congregation, was entrusted the principalship of the new school. It continued to be housed in the Bell House, a room in the southwest corner of the second floor being assigned to the pupils for dwelling and recitational purposes. The dining-room was on the first floor, and the dormitory in the attic. Meals were furnished the boarders from the Widows' House kitchen, and the general superintendence of the premises were given to Brother and Sister Peter, an aged couple, returned from missionary service among the Indians.[82]

The first boarding pupil to be added to the school already in 1785, was Marie Heckewelder from the River Huron.[83] On May 21, 1786, Elizabeth Bedell arrived from Staten Island, New York, as the first non-Moravian to enter the newly-organized Seminary.[84] Aurelia Blakely came from Baltimore on May 16, 1787, followed shortly afterwards by five young misses from the same city and three from the West Indies.[85] At the close of 1787, the number of boarders was seventeen, and a fourth teacher, Sister Maria Pyrlæus, was employed.[86] The day school had thirty-five pupils at that time.[87] By March, 1789,

79. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1785.*
80. *Ibid.*
81. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 533.
82. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 44.
83. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, loc. cit.*
84. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 45.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1787.*
87. *Ibid.* Since the development of the Bethlehem Seminary after 1785 has been carefully traced by William C. Reichel and William H. Bigler in their comprehensive *History of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem, Pa., with a Catalogue of its Pupils, 1785-1870*, no attempt is made here to duplicate the historical facts given in that excellent commemorative treatise. Only those data are herewith presented which are documentations or modifications of, or supplements to the facts contained in the aforementioned *Souvenir* history. Furthermore, since the educational principles and practices of the Young Ladies' Seminary at Bethlehem were similar to those of the Brethren's institutions at Nazareth and Lititz, such matters as administration, support, curriculum and method are deleted at this point and are discussed with general application to Moravian education in Chapters VII, VIII and IX.

> . . . so many applications had been received from parents to place their children in the Seminary that the authorities were greatly concerned that the building, which had just been enlarged as much as possible, would not be able to contain them.[88]

In the same year, several children came from New York and Trenton and wanted to be admitted to the Seminary, but they could not be accommodated because of lack of space.[89] About that time, a few rooms were rented in the Sisters' House to care for the increasing number of pupils.

Brother Jacob Van Vleck, assistant pastor of the congregation at Bethlehem, succeeded Brother Huebner as principal of the Seminary in January, 1790. On May 2, he held a service

> . . . to lay the cornerstone for a new school building, which is the result of frequent and repeated requests on the part of parents from many places to send their daughters here for an education; and since the Lord has made known His gracious favor, we have made preparations, in the name of the Saviour, to erect such a building. After the inscription[90] and names of the Elders' Conference and the *Aufseher Collegii*, and the names of all the boarding-school scholars and day-school pupils, together with the names of their teachers, were read in German and English, the congregation went out to the site of the building. The Elders' Conference and the *Aufseher Collegium*, and all the children, stationed themselves around the hole which was dug in the earth. After some verses were sung in German and English, Br. Jacob Van Vleck deposited the box in the corner-stone. Br. Huebner stepped upon the stone, and in a fervent prayer, en-

88. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Beilage, März, 1789.*

89. *Ibid., den 15. Juni, 1789.*

90. The inscription referred to here reads as follows: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who willeth that the children should come unto Him, and be brought up in the nurture and admonition of Him, with the approbation of the reverend directors of this and all other Brethren's congregations in Pennsylvania and adjacent states, with the benediction and concurrence of the reverend directors of the *Unitas Fratrum*, and with the blessing and prayers of the whole Congregation of the place, (in order to enlarge the Girls' Boarding School instituted in this place in the year 1785, and which, within five years increased so much, that the present number of pupils amounts to sixty-nine) in full reliance and confidence, that this undertaking will be graciously owned and prospered by our Lord Jesus Christ, the great Friend of Children, by His and our great Father in Heaven, and by the Holy Ghost, the foundation-stone of this building is laid, Bethlehem, the second of May, in the year of our Lord 1790. The Daily Word of the Congregation is: 'Unto the upright there ariseth light in darkness. He is gracious and full of compassion and righteous.' Ps. CXII, 4." (The original document was redeposited when the same corner-stone was re-laid for the new Moravian Parochial School building on May 27, 1857.)

(Courtesy of Publication Committee, Moravian Church, Bethlehem)

VIEWS (Front and Rear) OF THE SEMINARY OF 1790

> trusted the construction and all of the mechanics engaged in it to our dear Heavenly Father's care, that no harm might befall them; and he also entreated the Lord to fulfill His gracious purpose in the youth to be educated there. Thus the solemn occasion was closed with blessing and a pleasant feeling of the close presence of our Lord.[91]

This new stone building, later sometimes called the "Old Castle," was located on the declivity to the rear of the old house, on the site of the present-day Moravian Preparatory School. On the main floor were four large rooms; the basement under the entire building was to serve as refectory, kitchen and cellar; the attic was for dormitory purposes and accommodated about fifty girls.[92] The building was occupied on February 12, 1791, when,

> . . . amid the blowing of trombones, a group of children gathered in the dormitory of the new house with some members of the congregation, sang some hymns, and knelt in prayer before the 'best Friend of children.' Br. Jacob Van Vleck prayed fervently that the Lord might ever make His gracious Presence felt in this house, bless all its inmates both now and in the

91. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 2. Mai, 1790.*
92. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 549.

future, bestow grace, courage, and power on those in charge of teaching and rearing these young people. Thereupon the children delivered a German dialogue[93] of praise and thanksgiving, in which they explained the purpose and beginning of this school. A short account was also read to them. Then they expressed their thanks again, in English, and promised to be pleasing to the Lord and to the Brethren's congregation, and especially to their teachers and elders, through obedience, industry, and enthusiasm. The Lovefeast which followed, in fact the whole occasion, was distinguished by a blessed feeling of joy.[94]

The group which was transferred into the new structure consisted of forty-eight girls, comprising three room-companies, and supervised by eight teachers.[95] Twenty-one children, in charge of six teachers, remained in the Bell House.[96] The following are excerpts from the afore-mentioned dialogues delivered on the day of occupation:

H. Phillips: We shall never be able to thank our Sav'r sufficiently for directing our steps and ways to this place, where we not only are taught useful sciences; but much more, that we so frequently receive instructions how to obtain true and everlasting happiness, which surpasses all worldly wisdom.

H. Austin: O, might we all become a joy to our dear Lord and Saviour, who purchased our bliss by His painful sufferings of death!

Ann Jones: I beg leave to remark that, although we shall in the future be divided with respect to the two houses, we ought still to consider the whole as one family, and strive to live together in the strictest friendship and connection.[97]

A visitor to the school in 1791 reported the following observations:

Coercive measures are not adopted in the school; hence it is articled that if a child proves of an uncommonly refractory disposition, she shall be returned to her parents. I asked a student if they had any punishments and of what nature, and she informed me that advice and gentle remonstrance generally performed every purpose, but if these should be found ineffectual, the name of the incorrigible with the nature of her offence would be recorded; but in the Bethlehem annals only one solitary instance of such event had hitherto occurred.

Recommended to the superior, we passed through several divisions of the school. We examined the tambour and embroid-

93. *Infra*, 26.
94. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 12. Februar, 1791.*
95. *Ibid., den 12. April, 1791.*
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid., Zum Einzug ins neue Haus, den 12. April, 1791.*

> ery and never did I see anything in that line equal to it. We attended to their composition and painting, and I was inexpressibly charmed. As they played and sang in concert, with solemn pleasure I listened.
>
> Everything was admirable, but I must repeat that the exact order and regularity to which the students are accustomed, will probably have upon their future lives the finest effect. It is a truth that there is here no undue confinement nor restraint. There is in their manners an elegant ease and simplicity that is charmingly prepossessing. Dancing is not taught here. The pupil lays a good foundation, the chastest system of morals she will imbibe.[98]

One of the buildings closely connected with the history of the school was the Old Chapel, erected in 1751,[99] as a west wing of the Bell House. The pulpit in the middle of the long west wall was flanked by seats for the men and women elders. Facing west were seats for the men on the south, for they entered from the *Gemeinhaus;* and for the women on the north, for they entered by a special door near the northeast corner. At the north end facing south were seats for the young ladies of the school, who entered from the Bell House and later from the new building to the north through the women's door. An organ was at the south end over the men's entrance. After the completion of the Central Church in 1806 and until it took possession of the former Brethren's House, now Colonial Hall, the school used the Old Chapel for religious services and other purposes.

One such occasion, outstandingly ceremonious and memorable, came on March 9, 1792, when the girls of the Seminary requested and gained permission to gather in the Old Chapel to greet the fifty-one chiefs and representatives of the Six Nations who, as an embassy from their people to George Washington, stopped at Bethlehem en route to Philadelphia.[100] The Indians, among whom was the young Oneida, Lafayette's protege, Pierre Jaquette, were addressed by Bishop John Ettwein. Several of the boarding-school girls read original verses in their guests' honor. The Seneca captain, Red Jacket, and his associate, Good Peter, spoke their appreciation of the girls' friendly greetings, their astonishment at the courage the girls displayed in addressing "the wild warriors and big sachems of the Six Nations," and their promise to carry

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98. An extract from *Massachusetts Magazine*, June 1791, now in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

99. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 1. Februar, 1751.*

100. Holmes, John, *History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren*, II, 145.

the tidings of the Brethren and discretion of the white maidens back to the wigwams of the red men with the hope that the latter, too, might "some day enjoy the blessing of such schooling."[101]

On December 3, 1800, the seventy boarding pupils had a special lovefeast at which Brother Van Vleck, who had resigned as principal,

> . . . entreated the children to receive everything from the hand of the Lord, to bestow on Him love and faith, and to show Br. and Sr. Andrew Benade the same cooperation and obedience that they had always shown him and his lady. The children thanked Br. and Sr. Van Vleck for their faithful and careful supervision of the school for nigh unto eleven years, welcomed Br. and Sr. Benade with childlike affection. Br. Benade expressed the prayerful hope that the Lord would grant him and his lady the grace necessary for the position.[102]

Partly to relieve the congested conditions in the Bethlehem Seminary in 1805,[103] when the number of boarding pupils rose to eighty-nine, and partly to further the establishment of a Moravian boarding school in Hope, New Jersey, it was proposed by the Provincial Helpers' Conference

> . . . that one of the six room-companies in the Bethlehem institution be transferred to Br. and Sr. Kampmann's school at Hope, which could then become a filial of the Bethlehem school. Br. Benade would be the principal of both schools.[104]

The proposition was not carried out, because

> . . . in the translocation of a whole room-company from Bethlehem to Hope, in order to maintain a boarding school in the latter place, the parents' permission would first have to be obtained. It might be more expedient to place new admissions directly into the school at Hope. Parents might be willing to submit to this idea especially if Br. Benade is principal of both schools and if he promises to remove to Bethlehem any child who, for reasons of illness or otherwise, should not remain in Hope. But this suggestion was also found to be too difficult for execution.[105]

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101. Meyers, Elizabeth L., "The Moravian Revolutionary Church at Bethlehem," *The Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, XXXIV, 65.

102. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 3. Dezember, 1800.*

103. Under date of June 13, 1797, Jacob Van Vleck had already written: "I find a greater number entered than I have prospect of accommodating in the course of this and all next year. I would therefore take this occasion to announce my determination to drop entering names for the present, and request that no applications may be made before the expiration of eighteen months from this date."

104. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 3. September, 1805.*

105. *Ibid., den 17. September, 1805.*

(Courtesy of Frank A. Banyas)

COLONIAL HALL, BETHLEHEM SEMINARY

After this plan had been deemed impractical, Brother John G. Cunow[106] purchased the large Single Brethren's House which the young men had vacated in April, 1813, and which was changed and thoroughly renovated to become the new home of the Seminary.[107] On November 10, 1815,

> . . . since the Single Brethren's House was now ready for occupancy, it was taken over by the Boarding-school. At one o'clock this afternoon the procession of boarding pupils and little day-

106. When Brother Benade resigned as Inspector in January, 1813, he was succeeded by Brother Lewis Hübner. The latter served the school for eleven months, until his death on December 6, 1813. Brother Cunow, financial agent of the Brethren's lands in America, was called to fill the position as a substitute for three years.

107. This building is now known as "Colonial Hall," the central and oldest in the group of structures which comprise the present Moravian Seminary and College for Women. From 1776 to 1778 it had served as a military hospital for the Continental soldiers.

school girls, together with their tutoresses, led by Br. Cunow and his lady, and accompanied by the Elders' Conference of Bethlehem and Nazareth, proceeded solemnly from the two dwellings,[108] which had formerly housed the school, into the new school building. The trombone players on the belfry of the Bell House played *The Lord bless thy going out and thy coming in.* As soon as the whole group had gathered in the auditorium of the new house, and after the hymn, *Lord Jesus, who for me has endless bliss obtained,* Br. Cunow delivered a short address, in which he remarked that the work of reconditioning this house for the Seminary was happily accomplished with God's blessing and without a single mishap to any of the workmen; and that today marked the joyful day of occupying the house and of dedicating it to the Lord for a set purpose. A prayer was delivered on bended knee, in which the Lord was heartily entreated to fill this house with His presence and grace; to bless all its occupants with His precious peace; to govern it with His Holy Spirit; to make upon all those who are to be reared and instructed in it, an indelible, lasting impression of His love, while they are yet young; to incline them, through His love, to learn willingly; and daily to support those with His power who are dedicated to the important task of training our youth. Then the boarding pupils, both those from out of town and those of the Bethlehem congregation who live in the Seminary, were taken by their teachers to their rooms, of which six have been set up, and the little day-school girls were led to the room[109] which was specially assigned to them. Thereupon a happy lovefeast was held, to which the town parents and other guests had been invited, and during which a Psalm, specially printed for the occasion, was sung by the children. Among other things, mention was made of the fact that during the twenty-nine years since the Seminary's establishment on May 21, 1786,[110] there have been 965 boarding pupils in the school. The number of those who moved into the house today was 80, in addition to 10 children belonging to the Congregation. The teachers and others employed in the service of the institution number 18. The total, 108. The number of little girls in the day school is 24. Grand total, 132. After the lovefeast, the members of the Bethlehem and Nazareth Elders' Conference greeted the children in their rooms, expressed the joy they shared with them on this festive day, and wished them much favor and blessing.[111]

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108. When the new stone building behind and to the north of the Bell House was occupied on February 12, 1791, only forty-eight of the girls were transferred into it; a group of twenty-one pupils remained in the Bell House.

109. This seems to have been a forerunner of the present-day "homeroom."

110. The date on which Elizabeth Bedell of Staten Island, New York, arrived, being the first non-Moravian pupil from out of town.

111. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 10. November, 1815.*

CHURCH & YOUNG LADIES SEMINARY, AT BETHLEHEM, PENNA.

Taken from Samuel Reinke's *Twelve Views*

From this time on, the school was officially known as the Young Ladies' Seminary.[112]

A long series of modifications and adaptations within the Brethren's House, and frequent acquisitions of new property mark the continuous expansion of the one-building Seminary of 1815 to the present-day Moravian Seminary and College[113] for Women. During the principalship of Brother Henry Steinhauer, who took office on February 18, 1816, a connection of the small building to the west end was made with the main edifice of Colonial Hall, and the second floor was converted into a chapel for daily worship. The pleasure grounds were laid out anew, adorned with fountains and summer-houses, during the administration of Brother Charles F. Seidel in 1822. About that time, the building opposite the west wing of the school was purchased as a dwelling for the principal. In 1847, an addition was made to the southeast end of Colonial Hall. Four large acquisitions were effected during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, *viz.*: 1854, Main Hall; 1859, West Hall; 1869, the Chapel and refectory; 1875, South Hall. A gymnasium was acquired by the Seminary in 1908, and East Hall, now Wolle Hall, in 1913. Clewell Hall and Hark House are twentieth-century additions. In the spring of 1949, the institution was given a beautiful fifty-acre English-style country estate, located midway between Easton and Bethlehem. To this estate of Green Pond and the adjacent Melhado house, the Board of Trustees have determined to move the upper school, grades seven to twelve.[114] This most recent expansion removes the Seminary, at least in part, from Bethlehem for the first time since 1749.

III. The History of Boys' Education in Bethlehem and Its Development into the Moravian Preparatory School

Moravian education for boys in Pennsylvania appears to have begun on July 19, 1742, when apparently a school was opened in

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112. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 549.

113. Thomas Woody, in his *History of Women's Education in the United States*, I, 547, says: "In time, many seminaries came to be called colleges, and some really were, except in name." This is exemplified by the Bethlehem Moravian Seminary, whose college department was recognized on June 17, 1912, by the U. S. Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C., as an accepted College for Women, and a year later was accredited by the College and University Council of the State of Pennsylvania.

114. Moravian Seminary and College for Women, *Pamphlet, supplementary to 1949 Catalogue.*

a room in the Brethren's House.[115] Its first teacher was Brother George Neisser, who had been one of the instructors in the school which the young Countess Benigna had opened in the Ashmead House in Germantown on May 4, 1742, and which had been moved to the *Gemeinhaus* in Bethlehem on the twenty-eighth day of the following month.[116] His services in the early boys' school gave him the rightful distinction of being Bethlehem's first schoolmaster. In July of 1743, the ten boys of this school were transferred from Bethlehem by Brother John Christopher Francke into one of the two log houses that stood in Nazareth.[117]

In 1745, Bishop Spangenberg reorganized the educational plan in Bethlehem by moving the girls' school into more commodious quarters in the Whitefield House in Nazareth[118] and by transferring, between June 3rd and 10th, those boys who had been taken from Bethlehem to Nazareth by Brother Francke in July, 1743, together with some other boys from Bethlehem, in detachments down to the homestead of Henry Antes in Frederickstown,[119] as the nucleus of a more extensive establishment to be developed there.[120] The only school functioning in Bethlehem around 1745 was the nursery for little boys and girls.[121] In addition to the school in Frederickstown, the Brethren opened a country congregational school in Oley in November of 1745,[122] another in Germantown in the Reverend John Bechtel's house in September of 1746,[123] and a third in Maguntsche, present-day Emmaus, in February of 1747.[124] Many of the Bethlehem boys were being educated in these outlying boarding schools.

At a conference held on November 10, 1748, it was resolved

> . . . that the nursery school for boys and girls which to date has been maintained in Bethlehem, be transplanted to Nazareth; and that, on the contrary, when the children become five or six years old, they be brought to Bethlehem and be placed and educated in the institutions prepared for them: the boys' school will be in the Single Brethren's House; the girls' school, in the building known up to now as the Children's House.[125]

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115. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 252.
116. *Supra*, 13; also *Infra*, 171.
117. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 206.
118. *Supra*, 14f.
119. *Infra*, 164.
120. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 10. Juni, 1745.*
121. *Infra*, 45f.
122. *Infra*, 124ff.
123. *Infra*, 171ff.
124. *Infra*, 155ff.
125. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 10. November, 1748.*

This transfer was made early the following year, the girls being brought from Nazareth on January 6th, and the boys on January 10th.[126] On the same day, January 10, 1749, Dr. Adolph Meyer brought a few boys to Bethlehem who had been temporarily placed in the Brethren's school on the farm of Henry Antes in Frederick Township. They, with four boys who had remained of the little reform school in the Ysselstein house on the south side of the Lehigh River,[127] and several others brought down from Gnadenthal, were quartered with the boys from Nazareth in a room of the Brethren's House at Bethlehem.[128] It was thought desirable to bring these boys from outlying districts and to have them under further instruction and training "nearer to the heart of the congregation," so that they should not grow out of touch with the central influences.[129] In 1752, because of its continuous growth, the school in the Brethren's House was given an additional room. Brother Friedrich Weber, who had been with the youngest class of boys since the founding of the school, was made "a kind of supervisor of all three rooms."[130]

The boys' school became so crowded by 1753 that a plea was made in its behalf to the Provincial Helpers' Conference on February 26th, either for additional space in the Brethren's House, or for the restitution of the house which the boys' school had occupied four years before and which the married men had taken over.[131] This building must have been one of the two log houses built about 1748 as a lodging-house for women, for many years to the west of the *Gemeinhaus* on the northwestern part of the site of the present Moravian Church, and in which the young children and a few widowers were quartered in 1749. The "many necessary repairs and adaptations" took several months,[132] and the school was not opened until August 30, 1753.[133] On that date there were fifty-nine boys in attendance, ranging in age from four to ten years.[134] In December of the next year, Brother Jacob

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126. *Ibid., den 10. Januar, 1754.*
127. *Infra*, 47.
128. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 231.
129. *Ibid.*
130. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 7. Februar, 1752.*
131. *Ibid., den 26. Februar, 1753.*
132. *Ibid., den 30. Juli, 1753.*
133. *Ibid., den 30. August, 1753.*
134. *Ibid., Beilage, August 1753, Catologus derer Kinder in unserer Knäbchen-Schule und der ihnen ausgeordeten Brüder.*

Till was given charge of the spiritual affairs of the school, while Brother Weber continued to supervise the instruction.[135]

By 1755, the adjunct rooms in the Brethren's House and the school's main quarters in the log house west of the *Gemeinhaus* were both insufficient to contain the seventy-seven boys then enrolled.[136] During the preceding year a new and large stone building had been erected in Bethlehem. It was called the "Family House" and stood until 1869 on the site of the present Moravian Book Store and of the building adjoining it to the north on Main Street.[137] On February 20, 1755, this new building became the boys' "institute." The invalid women, the nursing mothers and several widows who had formerly occupied the *Familienhaus* were transferred to the inner log house near the *Gemeinhaus* which the boys had just vacated.[138]

The "Children's Diary" for March, 1755, gave an interesting review of the school's six years in Bethlehem, as follows:

> In the afternoon the announcement was made to the boys' teachers that Br. Friedrich Weber, who had started the boys' school here in Bethlehem and has served it faithfully for six years, will leave it and take up his abode in the Single Brethren's House. Br. Francke will take his place as supervisor of instruction. Mention was also made of the fact that the school had started with only six children and two teachers, and that it now consisted of eighty children and twelve teachers. During these six years only three boys have died—two Negroes and an Indian—all of whom were baptized here and were a source of great joy to all of us. Indeed, the one Negro boy was so highly respected by the other boys that they came to look upon him as their spiritual mentor.[139]

In October, 1755, an additional class was made for "those boys who were twelve years old or more and who should be cared for, instructed, and employed according to their degree of development and capacities."[140] In view of this, two more teachers—Brother Karl Friedrich, a tailor, and Brother Philip Meyer, a shoemaker—were added to the faculty, because "these professions were to be taught to some of the boys."[141] Other subjects of instruction were spelling, reading, both in German and English,

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135. *Ibid., den 2. Dezember, 1754.*
136. *Ibid., den 3. Februar, 1755.*
137. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 283.
138. *Ibid.*
139. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Kinderdiarium, den 8. März, 1755.*
140. *Ibid., den 6. Oktober, 1755.*
141. *Ibid.*

writing, arithmetic, drawing and music.[142] In October, 1757, a seventh room-company and two more teachers were added.[143]

In a report to the congregation on March 14, 1759, it was announced that "lack of space in Bethlehem would necessitate the translocation of the entire boys' school to Nazareth Hall, and the transfer of the Nazareth girls' school and the girls' nursery to Bethlehem." Accordingly, on June 5th,

> . . . Br. Graf brought the remaining twenty-three nursery girls from Nazareth. In the afternoon the boys and girls had a combined and blessed farewell lovefeast. Br. Peter Boehler told them that since there was a lack of room in Bethlehem, the dear Lord deemed it wise to transport all the boys to Nazareth Hall at this time, except the boys in the Brethren's House who would remain where they now are. He described all the fine things that awaited them in Nazareth. The older boys played and sang a farewell ode, and expressed their appreciation for all the love and care they had enjoyed here. Br. Peter told them that Br. Eckesparre would go along as their spiritual mentor. Then they sang tenderly a number of beautiful and appropriate hymns, partly as a farewell, and partly as a tribute to all the brethren and sisters who had served them in many capacities and to the visitors who had come from New York.[144]

At eight o'clock on the next morning, June 6th,

> . . . the 111 boys and their nineteen guardian angels[145] formed a line in front of their house, together with their little musicians. Brother Peter Boehler sang *God Bless Thy Going Out* and other appropriate hymns. As soon as the trombones were sounded from the balcony, the group marched, two by two, to the accompaniment of its own music, as far as the end of the lane. There the youngest boys were put into wagons and began to sing merrily. All the others marched a few miles further, and the two oldest room-companies walked all the way to the Hall. The weather was ideal for the trip, cloudy but rainless. Many brethren and sisters accompanied them part way, expressing abundant wishes for their happiness in their new home. Br. Peter, Br. Gottlieb, Br. Ettwein, and Br. and Sr. Lawatsch went all the way. At home, preparations were made at once to put their former house in order for the girls' school.[146]

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142. *Ibid., den 24. Februar, 1756.*

143. *Ibid., den 28. Oktober, 1757.*

144. *Ibid., den 5. Juni, 1759.*

145. A very complimentary and not unusual epithet for their teachers!

146. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 6. Juni, 1759.* From that time, Nazareth became the main educational center for boys, while Bethlehem was more successful with the education of girls. The subsequent career of the boys' school, whose emigration from Bethlehem was described above, and which became the nucleus of Nazareth Hall, is developed in Chapter III.

That part of the boys' school which had not been transferred to the Family House in February of 1755, but which had remained as an adjunct in the Brethren's House, was not transferred to Nazareth in 1759, and was all that remained in Bethlehem in the way of educational facilities for boys at that time. It consisted of eighteen pupils at the close of 1759.[147] On August 9, 1764, this school became the *Ortsknabenanstalt*, or boys' town school.[148] It was both a day school for the local boys and a boarding school for those children of the Brethren whose parents were abroad in missionary work; and was the male parallel of the female day school set up in the Girls' Seminary in the same year. These two town schools were the early antecedents of present Moravian Preparatory School. The *Ortsknabenanstalt*, with its eight pupils and two teachers, continued in the same location until September 25, 1767, when it was moved into "more commodious and specially adapted quarters" in the wing of the Brethren House,[149] to accommodate its six boarding-pupils and its ten day-scholars.[150] This school maintained a close association with Nazareth Hall in the early days. There was frequent transferring of pupils between the two institutions,[151] and Nazareth Hall was a cordial host to the Bethlehem *Ortsknabenanstalt* on many occasions,[152] especially on the Boys' Festival annually on June 24th. When the school for boys in Nazareth Hall was forced to close in October of 1779 under the dire stress of the time, its remaining six boys were transferred to Bethlehem and placed with the *Ortsknabenschule* there.[153]

In the general educational and economic reorganization which the Provincial Helpers' Conference effected in 1769[154] with a view to greater economy and efficiency, the boys' town-school lost one of its teachers.[155] Internal changes were made to enable the two remaining teachers to cope with the seven boarding-pupils and the thirteen day-scholars.[156] One of these teachers was Broth-

147. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1759.*
148. *Ibid., den 1. November, 1764.*
149. *Ibid., den 25. September, 1767.*
150. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1767.*
151. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1768.*
152. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1769.*
153. *Ibid., den 21. Oktober, 1779.*
154. *Supra*, 20.
155. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1771.*
156. *Ibid., den 25. Juli, 1771.*

er Peter, replaced in 1777 by Brother Fries.[157] On December 6, 1781, the two divisions of the *Ortsknabenanstalt* were moved into "more commodious and comfortable dwelling and school quarters,"[158] presumably in the Family House on Main Street, which by that time was no longer needed for the girls who had gradually been returned to their former residence in the Bell House. Brother John Friedrich Schlegel replaced Brother Philip Jacob Höger as teacher of the ten boarding-pupils.

The provisions for the education of boys at Bethlehem lost much of their earlier prominence after the re-establishment of Nazareth Hall in 1785, for then the few boys who were to receive a more thorough education were sent to that institution, either as boarders or as day-scholars living with relatives at Nazareth.[159] Consequently, the boarding-school division of the Bethlehem *Ortsknabenanstalt* was closed in 1785, and its nine pupils together with two Bethlehem boys were sent to Nazareth as a nucleus for the newly-organized Hall. Bethlehem had no boys' boarding school for the next eleven years.[160]

The day-school division of the Bethlehem *Ortsknabenanstalt* was reorganized as the Bethlehem *Ortsschule,* or town school, and opened on November 1, 1785, by Brother Samuel Gottlieb Kramsch and Brother John Christian Till.[161] This was the immediate forerunner of the Moravian Parochial (later, Preparatory) School. In 1796, a boarding department was again established with four pupils.[162] This department was meant also to catch the overflow of pupils from Nazareth Hall, whose facilities were filled to capacity at that time.[163] It occupied the house adjoining that of the Single Brethren.[164] The boys were taught reading, writing, arithmetic and accounts, the catechism, and music connected with religion and devotion.[165] By 1812, there were thirty-two pupils in the school, four of whom were non-Moravians,[166] and it became

157. *Ibid., den 4. Juni, 1777.*
158. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1781.*
159. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.,* 601.
160. *Ibid.,* 588.
161. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1785.*
162. *Ibid., den 31. August, 1796.*
163. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 9. September, 1796.*
164. Ogden, John C., *An Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pennsylvania in the year 1799,* 12.
165. *Ibid.*
166. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 27. April, 1812.*

(Courtesy of Publication Committee, Moravian Church, Bethlehem)

THE BETHLEHEM BOYS' SCHOOL HOUSE OF 1822

necessary to use the southwest room of the new church as a schoolroom.[167]

The Moravian School Board grew out of a meeting of parents and teachers who met on November 11, 1817, to discuss measures for improving the boys' school, and who named a committee of seven to consider the subject.[168] On January 21, 1818, this congregational council reported the results of its deliberations, and recommended, among other things, that a school board of seven members be set up, comprising four laymen to be elected by the voting members of the congregation,[169] the associate minister as

167. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 602.

168. *Ibid.* At Bethlehem, the boys' school was continually regarded as unsatisfactory by the Congregation, not by comparison with similar schools of that time at neighoring places, but with the standards of the Moravians themselves. At Nazareth the same was true of the girls' school. The day schools which were connected with the boarding schools of these two places—the girls' in Bethlehem and the boys' in Nazareth—were much more satisfactory.

169. As a result of the first election, held on March 10, 1818, Samuel Luckenbach, John Frederick Rauch, Joseph Rice, and Samuel Stoup became members of the Board.

general school inspector, the warden of the congregation, and the principal of the Seminary for Young Ladies. The last two were to serve as ex-officio members.[170] On the committee's recommendation that better teachers be secured for the boys' school, Daniel Steinhauer from England, John Jacob Kummer from North Carolina, and David Peter Schneller were appointed.[171] The needed increase in revenue was provided for by arranging with the Young Ladies' Seminary to let half of the former sum of eighty pounds, Pennsylvania currency, agreed upon for accommodating the day school for girls in that institution and subsequently considered rather high, go to the benefit of the boys' school, besides a slight increase in the tuition fees. Through these means the sum of $200 was secured.[172] On October 18, 1819, a special winter school was held on three evenings of the week for apprentices and for other boys who could not attend the day school.[173] Eighteen young men arranged to take turns as instructors in various branches.[174] The boys' town-school received a new two-story brick building on Cedar Street, which was dedicated with appropriate exercises on January 12, 1823.[175] The edifice, whose second floor contained a music hall, was built in less than five months,[176] at a cost of $1800, and was used for the boys' school until 1858, when it became the dwelling for the superintendent of the Parochial School, and in 1890 was remodeled and again used as an adjunct to the Parochial School.[177]

In December of 1831, the Governor of Pennsylvania, George Wolf, advocated the establishment of a system of free common schools supported by taxation. The desired action was taken by the Legislature in 1834. On May 26th of that year, a meeting of fathers, guardians and teachers at Bethlehem was called, and the general problem of their local school improvement was referred to a committee consisting of Dr. Abraham L. Huebner, President; James T. Borhek, Secretary; John M. Miksch, John F. Rauch, C. A. Luckenbach, Charles C. Tombler and Abraham Andrews.[178] A proposition of the committee to increase the tui-

170. Levering, J. Mortimer, *loc. cit.*
171. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1819.*
172. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 603.
173. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1819.*
174. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 604.
175. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 12. Januar, 1823.*
176. *Ibid.*
177. Levering, J. Mortimer, *loc. cit.*
178. *Ibid.*, 655.

tion fees of the boys' school in order to meet the main difficulty of trying to get good work for poor pay, encountered opposition on the part of those who were in favor of improving everything but the salaries.[179]

Nevertheless, a number of significant, salutary effects were derived from the work of the committee. The boys' school in two departments, with Brother Jacob Kummer and Brother David Schneller in charge of the first and second divisions respectively, was continued, together with the primary school combined with a department of private instruction for some boys from the neighborhood in charge of Brother and Sister Matthew Christ, and the girls' day-school adjunct of the Young Ladies' Seminary. Some internal improvements in organization, methods and textbooks resulted from the consultations; and the contract with the County Commissioners was extended until 1836 to provide tuition to poor children within a given radius, at the daily rate of two to two-and-a-half cents per pupil.[180] Provisions were also made to accommodate for a stipulated amount those boys from the country whose parents wished them to enjoy better advantages than any other schools within reach would offer.[181] On September 3, 1834, a new school board was elected comprising Dr. Abraham L. Huebner, John M. Miksch, Timothy Weiss, Owen Rice, John F. Rauch, James T. Borhek, with the head pastor, the associate minister and the warden of the Congregation as ex-officio members.[182] Such was the local state of educational affairs when the public school era dawned on Bethlehem.

The Act creating the Bethlehem School District, synonymous in extent with the Election District, and authorizing the levying and collection of school taxes and the election of District School Directors, was approved on April 1, 1836. The first Board of Directors, elected on April 29th, comprised James T. Borhek, Abraham L. Huebner, John M. Miksch, John F. Rauch, Owen Rice, and Charles C. Tombler.[183] They organized on the next day by electing Owen Rice, President; Dr. Huebner, Secretary; and John Rauch, Treasurer. On May 27th, at a meeting of the citizens of the School District, it was decided to raise for the current

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179. *Ibid.*

180. Such a contract seems to have existed since 1828.

181. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 656.

182. *Ibid.*

183. All but the last-named had been members of the previous village School Board, *Supra*, 41.

year, a sum, in addition to that determined on by the Delegate Meeting, equal in amount to the County Tax for that year.[184] The reorganization of the day schools had finally amounted simply to converting them from parish schools with ecclesiastico-municipal authorities controlling them, and the clergy as ex-officio members of the School Board, into District Schools under the Pennsylvania School Law, with a Board of Directors elected by the citizens of the School Districts, as such, in accordance with the provisions of the law.[185]

From Bethlehem's first report to the State Superintendent, dated January 9, 1837, it becomes clear that there were three "schools or departments" at that time: a department for boys taught by Jacob Kummer, a school for boys and girls taught by Matthew Christ and his wife,[186] and a day-school department for girls[187] connected with the Young Ladies' Seminary, in charge of John Gottlob Kummer, Principal, into which girls were advanced from Mr. and Mrs. Christ's school under a contract made by the School District directors with that institution for $150 a year. The total paid on account of salaries, including this sum, the first year, was $750. The only other expense was about $4.50 for fuel. The school rooms cost nothing, and the necessary equipment was purchased by the warden or was procured through private contributions.

The following laudatory comments made by Thomas H. Burrowes, Superintendent of Common Schools, in his annual *Report*, read in the Senate on February 18, 1837, attested to Bethlehem's smooth transition to the public school system:

> Happily much of the difficulty may be removed by the operation of the section of the Act of last June, which relates to 'endowed schools.' Institutions of this description, which it is believed, embrace nearly all the society schools alluded to, are entitled to receive their due proportions of the Common School funds, and to remain 'under the direction of the regularly appointed trustees,' who, of course, retain the right of selecting the teacher. It is hoped that this wise provision will hereafter be

184. Levering, J. Mortimer, *loc. cit.*

185. *Ibid.*, 657.

186. About 1820, the wife of George Fetter had been keeping the primary school. When the Fetters went to Lancaster, Mrs. Christ became her successor. Mr. Christ, a former Nazareth Hall teacher, took over the school with his wife in 1836 and together they conducted a school for girls and boys until 1845.

187. There were thirty-four girls in this day-school adjunct of the Seminary. (*Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1837.*)

> fully carried into practice, and will obviate all remaining difficulty.
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> In this light, the example of the Moravian Society at Bethlehem is worthy of all praise and imitation. The Common School system has not been sacrificed to, but engrafted upon the admirable schools of that place. Directors under the School law have been elected to manage the funds of the system, and the Society schools have been opened to all the youth of the district. Thus, while they are literally converted into Common Schools, the efficient control and instruction of the Society are retained.[188]

It is only natural that there should have been some opposition to the Common School system, and in Bethlehem such disapproval had two specific bases. There were those who objected to the introduction of a law which compelled them to pay for the support of the schools whether they had children to be educated or not. Others, taking into account the established principles of education in a Moravian village, combining secular and religious instruction and churchly training, had exaggerated visions of secularizing influences and of drifting away from all cherished associations.[189] Such fears were unfounded, for Bible lessons, general religious instruction, and distinctly Moravian Church training by the pastors continued as before. Regular attendance of the Parochial School pupils, in a body, at the public service on Sunday and at various special services in which they were in the habit of participating, did not disappear.[190] The village was still essentially Moravian. Nevertheless, the fear was sufficiently great and persistent to cause

> . . . several parents to join in the request for a private school to be opened and to be conducted by a Brother selected by the Church, the cost of which would be paid for by the parents of the boys who would get the proper and desired religious training; since much remains to be desired of the public schools introduced last year.[191]

It was in response to this plea that Brother Ernst Frederick Bleck, in June of 1837, opened his private school for boys.[192]

Reorganizational changes continued to be made frequently during these transitional years. The department in charge of Brother

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188. *Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, Read in Senate February 18, 1837.*
189. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1837.*
190. Levering, J. Mortimer, *loc. cit.*
191. *Ibid.*
192. *Infra,* 48ff.

Jacob Kummer, consisting of only fifteen boys, was eliminated in June, 1837. Brother and Sister Christ took care of all the children in the district, except the thirty-four girls attending the Young Ladies' Seminary as day scholars. By the end of the year, the Christs had 106 scholars and their school was in highly satisfactory condition.[193] In June, 1838, it became necessary to restrict the admission to boys and girls from five to fourteen years of age.[194]

An important vote was taken at Bethlehem on May 5, 1840, at a meeting of the qualified citizens residing within the bounds of the Municipal School District, held for the purpose of deciding by ballot whether the Common School system should be continued in that district or not. The majority being in favor, it was settled that it should be continued for the ensuing three years. This was apparently the point at which the public schools at Bethlehem ceased to be regarded as an experiment. The further development of the school system in the state brought the time when subsidies to existing institutions and combinations with ecclesiastical or private schools ceased. This point came at Bethlehem after the closing examinations, the last week in June, 1844. There, the blending of the District School and the Parochial School was at an end. The latter was reorganized on June 7th in accordance with the action of a Congregation Council. On June 22nd, it was re-opened under this board, elected by voting members of the Moravian Church as such, and not by citizens of the School District as such, with the head pastor, the associate minister, and the warden again as ex-officio members, as prior to 1836.[195]

The increased membership of the Congregation and the more exacting and expanding educational demands of the day caused the Parochial School to be transferred to a roomy edifice, dedicated on February 15, 1858, to which it was found expedient to add, in 1890, the modernized former boys' schoolhouse which had been opened in 1823. One of the main objects of the school was, and still is, to instill in the minds of the children sound Christian principles, a patriotic love for the Moravian Church, and a spirit of loyalty to its history, doctrine, discipline and ritual.[196]

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193. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 659.

194. *Ibid.*

195. *Ibid.*, 660.

196. *Bethlehem Daily Times, Sesqui-Centennial Edition*, June, 1892.

IV. The Bethlehem Nursery

Under the peculiar Moravian arrangements of the time, with no proper provision yet for separate family homes, while the women as well as the men were employed in the various kinds of labor for the General Economy, or were traveling as ministers, teachers, or missionaries, it was necessary, as long as the communal system was continued, to make special provisions for the care of the quite young children in a special home. In this nursery they were placed as soon as they were old enough to be taken from their mothers' arms, often as young as eighteen months, and there certain of the widows and single sisters, or certain of the married women who were physically unable to engage in other duties, took care of them until, at the age of three years, they were placed in separate nursery classes for little boys and girls.[197]

The nursery was under the general superintendence of a reliable married couple, with the assistance of such others in the external work of the establishment, as the number of children from time to time required; and either the superintendent himself, or someone associated with him or located near at hand, was possessed of sufficient medical knowledge to serve all ordinary needs.[198] Under the superintendency of John Christopher Francke, the nursery was kept in Bethlehem until the close of the year 1748,[199] and was the only school in the village at that time. One of the two log houses which for many years stood to the west of the *Gemeinhaus*, on the site of the present Moravian Church, was built, it seems, at that time, and in it the nursery children were apparently quartered.[200] On January 7, 1749, the nursery's fifty-six little boys and girls were transferred to Nazareth with their nurses and attendants, and were domiciled in the Whitefield House,[201] from which the girl's school, begun in Nazareth in 1745, was removed to the Bethlehem Boarding School.[202] Here, to Naza-

197. Martin, J. Hill, *Historical Sketch of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania*, 171.

198. While Dr. Joseph Müller was located at Friedensthal in 1752, he served as medical attendant at the nursery in the Whitefield House at Nazareth. (McIntyre, Charles, *Physic and Its Practice in Old Northampton*, 45.)

199. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 10. November, 1748.*

200. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 208.

201. Plan projected in *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, loc. cit.*, and reviewed in *Ibid., den 10. Januar, 1754.*

202. *Supra*, 16.

reth, the young children of all the colonial Moravian settlements were sent. At times, their number reached ninety.[203]

In 1755, when the Indian uprisings were rampant to the north of Bethlehem and culminated in the horrible massacre at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning on November 24th,[204] it was deemed wise to return the Nazareth nursery and the girls' school to Bethlehem for safety's sake. Six days later,

> . . . down they came, infants, girls, teachers and attendants, 93 souls in all, in 5 large wagons, leaving the Whitefield House to the refugees from the back country who were seeking protection after the Gnadenhütten massacre. The next day several of the wagons went across the river to bring in the children of the little Maguntsche school,[205] and here the great company of little ones was kept secure until the terror was over.[206] At Bethlehem, the married brethren gave up their house to the nursery and took up temporary quarters in the *Gemeinhaus*.[207]

The nursery was again removed to Nazareth on June 3, 1756, ". . . amid the sound of trombones from the Single Brethren's House and songs of the boarding-school girls," who were posted along the lane through which the infants had to pass.[208] Their abode, which during their absence had been occupied by strangers, was repaired and renovated, and since its quarters were too small for the nursery[209] an additional room was set up for the girls and another for the boys. Br. and Sr. Levering, Br. and Sr. Graf, and the Widow Lehnert took up their positions in the nursery.[210]

However, lack of space in Bethlehem necessitated the removal of the boys' school to Nazareth[211] and the translocation, once again, of the Nazareth nursery girls to Bethlehem on June 5, 1759.[212] For the first time, the girls' nursery was divided geographically from the boys'. The former was temporarily housed in the Bell House; and in 1765, when it comprised twenty-nine

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203. *Cf.* wall plaque in the Whitefield House.

204. *Infra*, 199.

205. *Infra*, 158.

206. From the *MS.* biography of Brother John Michael Graff, superintendent of the nursery and girls' school at Nazareth.

207. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 30. November, 1755.*

208. *Ibid., den. 3. Juni, 1756.*

209. The nursery contained 36 girls and 36 boys at that time. (*Ibid., Memorabilia, 1756.*)

210. *Ibid.*

211. *Supra*, 36.

212. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 5. Juni, 1759.*

girls and six teachers, it was moved to the Family House.[213] The boys' nursery, with an enrollment of twenty-eight in 1760, remained in Nazareth;[214] but in 1764, the year of the expiration of the Economy at Nazareth, it was discontinued in the Whitefield House, and its five remaining boys were transferred to Nazareth Hall.[215]

V. The Educational History of the Ysselstein House

In December of 1738, 178 acres and an island of ten acres were assigned by David Potts to Isaac Martens Ysselstein, of Swedish parentage, who had immigrated to the Lehigh in 1737. A deed was received by Ysselstein from William Allen in 1740 for one hundred pounds sterling.[216] The land lay south of the Lehigh River and is now owned by the city of Bethlehem. In December, 1739, Ysselstein bought seventy-five acres more. The Moravians were hospitably received by him when they arrived at the forks of the Delaware in 1740. He died July 26, 1742 and was buried on his farm. In 1746, Henry Antes made an agreement with the second husband of the Widow Ysselstein, Abraham Boemper,[217] for the purchase of this entire tract for the Bethlehem Economy.

From 1747 to 1753, the Ysselstein House *"über der Lecha"* was used for various school purposes:

1. It was first opened as a kind of reform school on May 24, 1747, when "the boys who had learned bad habits and whom it was therefore not desirable to have with those in the other institutions" and who had been placed in an earlier reformatory in the home of Joseph Mueller in the Long Swamp[218] were transferred to the Ysselstein House.[219] It was a boarding school for boys only. To this initial group from the disbanded Long Swamp school were added, from time to time, other boys who could not or would not adjust to the regular town and country congregational schools conducted by the Moravians.[220] The school lasted until January 10, 1749, when the remaining four boys were trans-

213. *Ibid., den 17. August, 1764.*
214. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1760.*
215. *Ibid.*, den 2. März, 1764.
216. Davis, William W. H., *History of Bucks County, Pa.*, 519.
217. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 207.
218. *Infra*, 130.
219. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 208.
220. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 14. Mai, 1747.*

ferred to the newly-opened boys' school in the Brethren's House in Bethlehem.[221]

2. The Ysselstein House became an adjunct to the Bethlehem Girls' Boarding School, but without any of the stigma that had been attached to the boys' school which had occupied it before, when on May 24, 1749, eleven girls were transferred to it from the school in John Bechtel's house in Germantown,[222] which was being discontinued because of financial burdens. The first school for girls "on the South side" was organized on May 27, 1749, but was maintained only until February 25, 1750, when the older of the girls were installed with the older girls of Bethlehem who were engaged in learning various kinds of female industries, and the younger ones were taken over to the Maguntsche school.[223]

3. On September 10, 1751, it was again opened as a school, when four girls from the abandoned Oley school[224] were brought to Bethlehem and quartered in the Ysselstein House with some from the Maguntsche school, which, at that time, became a school exclusively for boys. A few other pupils were added later.[225] Sister Graf was in charge of the school, assisted by Sister Molly Waters.[226] It was continued until December 4, 1753,[227] when its eight girls, together with six from the Bethlehem Girls' Boarding School, and two teachers, were transferred to Nazareth where a school for girls was again opened in the older of the two log houses which stood near the Whitefield House.[228] With this transfer, the use of the Ysselstein House for school purposes ceased.[229]

VI. Bleck's Academy

In June of 1837, Ernst Frederick Bleck, who had passed through the regular course at Nazareth Hall and in the Theological Seminary of the Church, and had spent five years as a teacher in Nazareth Hall, opened a private school in Bethlehem for the

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221. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 231.
222. *Infra*, 173f.
223. *Infra*, 156.
224. *Infra*, 126f.
225. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 28. August, 1752.*
226. *Ibid., den 20. Juni, 1752.*
227. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1753.*
228. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 232.
229. The Ysselstein House was converted into a hat manufactory in 1754 and was probably demolished prior to 1757. (Davis, William, *op. cit.*, 523.)

more advanced education of boys who wished to enter the business life or to prepare for special professional studies, or for a classical course at college. Certain parents at Bethlehem encouraged this undertaking and had privately guaranteed him a satisfactory salary and schoolroom for one year, because they objected to the boys' school which had recently been reorganized in accordance with the Common School Law of 1834, fearing its secularizing influences on their sons.[230] Thus, with sixteen boys in a room on the first floor of the boys' school house, commenced "Bleck's Academy," which was subsequently quartered in the Till House, a part of the former great barn[231] on Main Street, purchased for $1800. It was, for a few years, reputed to be the most popular and successful school of its kind for boys in the Lehigh Valley.[232]

The curriculum embraced, besides a solid and thorough course in the regular English branches similar to that at Nazareth Hall, instruction in higher mathematics, Latin, Greek, French, German, surveying, double-entry bookkeeping, drafting, free-hand drawing, musical instruction, including lessons on the organ, pianoforte and 'cello (in the use of which instrument Mr. Bleck was specially proficient), and a course of illustrated lectures on various subjects, particularly astronomy and chemistry, on which branches he compiled a manual for his own use from the best authorities.[233] The pupils of the Young Ladies' Seminary and the people of the town occasionally shared the benefit of these lectures. For a few years the District School Directors also contracted with him to accommodate boys who passed beyond the limit fixed for Mr. Christ's school.[234]

Professor Bleck continued to operate the Academy until June, 1851, when he sold the property and good will to Benjamin Van Kirk, one of his teachers, who, in 1855, erected the Nisky Hill Seminary on Church Street in the eastern part of the borough of Bethlehem. Reverses, however, owing chiefly to the financial depression of the time, caused the enterprise to languish and eventually to pass out of existence. The building was used for the Moravian College and Theological Seminary in 1858.[235]

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230. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1837* .
231. Professor Bleck was fond of telling his boys that "there were calves in it yet!"
232. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 659.
233. *Ibid.*
234. *Supra*, 42.
235. Schwarze, W. N., *History of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary*, 181.

VII. *Collegium Musicum*

The *Collegium Musicum* in Bethlehem was organized on December 13, 1744, for the purpose of improving the standards of church music,[236] by John Christopher Pyrlæus, who had arrived with the first group of Brethren sent from Europe to reinforce the original settlers of Bethlehem. Besides being a good singer, he played the spinet and the chamber organ, and drilled both vocalists and instrumentalists. These duties he combined with the direction of the linguistic studies of candidates for missionary service among the Indians. His music-room and classroom were first in the *Gemeinhaus* and later in the new house of the Single Brethren.[237] When Pyrlæus was transferred to Gnadenhütten, the musical guild was instructed by John Eric Westmann, who is reported to have devoted an hour every evening to the work.[238] On January 14, 1748, the organization numbered fourteen members, mostly single men and older boys; and on that date a subscription was opened for a fund to purchase instruments,[239] thus launching the organization on a career that was to last until 1830.

Public concerts, at which admission fees were charged, were given by the *Collegium Musicum*, for the accounts show that the receipts for the year 1794 were about $25.00; and that this sum was carefully used to defray the necessary expenses of the organization, such as buying music paper and paying the copyist.[240] By 1806, it was a very active group, fostering daily practice among its members, giving many concerts every year, sponsoring quartet clubs and other musical enterprises, and supplying its members with a monthly bulletin which was prepared and issued by David Moritz Michael,[241] and called *The Leipzig Musical News*, whose purpose it was to keep everyone in touch with what was going on in European musical centers.[242]

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236. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 12. Juni, 1768.*
237. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 172.
238. David, Hans T., "Musical Life in the Pennsylvania Settlements of the Unitas Fratrum," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XIII, 31.
239. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 205.
240. Scott, Ruth H., Music Among the Moravians, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1816, I, 121.
241. David Moritz Michael was born in Germany in 1751, and came to America in 1795. He was a performer on practically every instrument, and a virtuoso on the violin and French horn; a composer of both sacred and secular music; and from 1813, the instructor of music in the boys' school. He returned to Germany and died at Neuwied in 1823.
242. Scott, Ruth H., *loc. cit.*

The *Collegium Musicum* was reorganized as the Philharmonic Society in 1820.[243] This joint body of singers and players "bound themselves to pay 25 cents entrance fee, a yearly contribution of 50 cents, and a fine of 12½ cents for non-attendance."[244] In the early 80's the chorus of the Philharmonic Society dwindled and was discontinued, the orchestra maintaining its organization for some years.[245] To fill the need of a choral group in Bethlehem, Dr. J. Fred Wolle, church organist, organized the Bethlehem Choral Union in 1882. This, in turn, was replaced by the famous Bethlehem Bach Choir.[246]

VII. Summary

Bethlehem's first century of education reveals three distinct phases: first, the prompt establishment and immediate expansion of schools during the communal period; secondly, the recessional years between 1770 and 1785; and finally, the "academy" and "seminary" era after 1785.

In Bethlehem's singular way of life under the General Economy, a system in which the family unit and the private home were virtually non-existent, schools were as basically necessary as food, clothing and shelter, and were founded almost *ab urbe condita*. The transfer of Countess Benigna Zinzendorf's school from Germantown to the *Gemeinhaus* in June, 1742, marked the establishment of girls' education in Bethlehem and the beginning of the long and honorable career of the oldest Protestant boarding school for girls in the United States. After a brief sojourn in Nazareth, between 1745 and 1749, the girls' boarding school was returned to Bethlehem where it has remained without interruption and with approbation down to the present day. The boys' boarding school seems to have been established in Bethlehem in 1749, where it functioned undisturbed for ten years. Most of the boys were translocated to Nazareth Hall in 1759, after which date boys' education in Bethlehem seemed never again to rank as high as the girls'. In 1764, in both the girls' and boys' boarding schools, a day school for the town children was added. These two *Ortsanstalten* seem to have been the forebears of today's Moravian Preparatory School. A nursery for the very

243. Howard, John T., *Our American Music*, 24.
244. Walters, Raymond, *The Bethlehem Bach Choir*, 26.
245. *Ibid.*, 30.
246. W.P.A., *Pennsylvania, A Guide to the Keystone State*, 512.

young children was imperative under the peculiar Moravian arrangements of the communal period, and was maintained from 1742 to 1764, sometimes in Bethlehem and at other times in Nazareth. Up to 1770, all the children of Bethlehem, as of every other Moravian settlement, were educated at the expense of the general treasury of the Unity.

The missionary and educational program of the Moravian Church had become so extensive and expensive by 1765, that a reduction in enterprises and a retrenchment in expenditures had to be effected to avoid pecuniary embarrassment. With the abrogation of the General Economy in 1762, it was feasible to return many children to their families. Furthermore, as day schools in other Moravian settlements improved, it was no longer necessary for so many boys and girls to resort to the Bethlehem boarding schools for their education. These several factors, coupled with the disturbing effects of the Revolutionary War, were responsible for the period of educational depression in Bethlehem between 1770 and 1784.

Partly to gratify the wish repeatedly expressed by many parents of other religious persuasions to have their children educated in the Brethren's schools, and partly to revive their schools by new accessions, the authorities at Bethlehem opened the girls' boarding school to non-Moravians in 1785, after which it became widely known as the "Young Ladies' Seminary." When the boys' boarding school, defunct since 1785, was reopened in 1796, as an academy and an adjunct to Nazareth Hall, it, too, admitted pupils of other than Moravian background. In 1837, Brother Ernst Frederick Bleck opened a private academy in Bethlehem for the more advanced education of boys, in response to many parents' concern over the secularizing influence which the Common School Law of 1834 might have upon their sons' education.

Chapter III

NAZARETH: ITS COMMUNAL AND EDUCATIONAL LIFE

I. The Settlement of Nazareth

While on board the sloop "Savannah" en route from Georgia to Philadelphia, the celebrated Methodist divine, George Whitefield, on April 20, 1740, revealed to his agent, William Seward, his plan "to erect a free school for Negro children where Mr. Whitefield proposed to take up land and to settle a town for the reception of such English friends whose hearts God shall incline to come and settle there."[1] Whitefield had tried while in the South to elevate the conditions of the Negroes, and apparently he now decided to bring some of them north. The following month Seward closed negotiations with William Allen, merchant and speculator of Philadelphia, for a tract of 5,000 acres, "drained by the branches of the Menakasy and Lehietan," designated as "lately William Allen's in the right of Letitia Aubrey,[2] for 2,200 pounds sterling."[3] To Peter Boehler, who had lately accompanied him on ship from Savannah, he proposed to superintend the erection of the school, and

> . . . because some of the Moravian Brethren who had recently come up from Georgia were carpenters, he hired them to do the woodwork of the building. Indeed, he wanted the Moravians to manage the whole construction, and asked them to inspect the land in the Forks of the Delaware for him, which site was reached on May 7, 1740.[4]

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1. *Journal of a Voyage from Savannah to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to England, 1740, by William Seward, Gent. Companion in travel with the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield,* April 20, 1740.
2. This tract of 5,000 acres was part of the 25,000 acres given by the will of William Penn to his daughter, Letitia Aubrey, and conveyed to her September 25, 1731, by her three guardians, John, Thomas and William Penn. The deed granted the right and liberty to erect all or parts of this land into a manor, with all the incidents belonging to a Court Baron. It was held free of dues and rents, excepting that one red rose was to be given yearly on the 24th day of June to William Penn and his heirs or assigns. On this account, Nazareth became known as the "Barony of the Rose."
3. Seward, William, *op. cit.*, May 1, 1740.
4. Peter Boehler's Historical Account of Nazareth, on the Occasion of the Laying of the Corner-stone of the *Jüngerhaus*, May 3, 1755.

By cast of the customary lot,[5] they felt directed by Divine Will to engage in the enterprise.[6] On May 27th, Boehler and a party of fourteen Brethren set out from Germantown, and after laboriously pushing their way north through the wilderness for three days, camped on the lowlands of Nazareth.[7] A few days later, Seward arrived from Philadelphia, selected a site for the school, and transferred the encampment thither. The Wesleyan missionary called the place Nazareth, after the home of Christ in Galilee.[8]

Their work of felling timber, quarrying stone, and laying the walls of the commodious dwelling for the proposed school was hindered by bad weather, lack of money, and English opposition to the Brethren arising from a quarrel between Boehler and Whitefield.[9] The latter, incited by the misrepresentations of others and misled by doctrinal zeal, in a hasty moment summarily discharged his laborers before the expiration of the year. These workmen then began the erection of the two log cottages, one of which three years later became the home of Nazareth's first boys' school.[10] Further work at the intended Negro school was consequently abandoned.[11] Whitefield now sailed for England where his fellow-traveler and financial agent, William Seward, died. Becoming pecuniarily straitened in consequence of this loss, Whitefield offered his estate in Pennsylvania for sale, and in the summer of 1741, it was bought by Brother Augustus G. Spangenberg for the use of the Brethren.[12]

In September of 1743, two years after Boehler and his helpers abandoned Whitefield's intended school, workmen were sent from

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5. Although not an exclusively Moravian custom, the "lot" was an uncommonly prevalent practice among the Brethren, through the example of Zinzendorf, in making selections, deciding questions, or seeking Divine guidance in perplexity. It was applied to all phases of Moravian ecclesiastical, social and economic government, from the control of the whole church down to that of the local congregations and individuals.
6. Godcharles, Frederic A., *Daily Stories of Pennsylvania*, 312.
7. McMinn, Edwin, *Life and Times of Henry Antes*, 119.
8. Croll, Philip C., "A Detour on the Forks of the Delaware," *Pennsylvania-German*, V, 127.
9. Reincke, Abraham, *A Register of Members of the Moravian Church and of Persons Attached to said Church in this Country and Abroad, between 1727 and 1754*, 60.
10. *Infra*, 61f.
11. A brick band in the limestone of the ivy walls marks the limits to this day of Whitefield's effort toward the education of the Negro in the North.
12. Reincke, Abraham, *loc. cit.*

Bethlehem to complete the house, which, in commemoration of its projector, is to this day called "The Whitefield House."[13] The building consisted of eleven rooms, three large halls, and two cellars.[14] On January 2, 1744, it was dedicated to God and was immediately occupied by thirty-three couples who had participated in a mass marriage in Germany before embarking on the "Little Strength" which arrived the previous November.[15] Such was the beginning of the Moravian occupation of Nazareth, and of the Whitefield House which was to play a large rôle in the educational history of that Moravian settlement.

In the Brethren's General Economy, Bethlehem and Nazareth were intended as co-settlements with close inter-relation as one unit. Besides being the administrative capital for all the Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania, Bethlehem was planned to be also the center of trades and manufacturing. Its complement, Nazareth, was not so much a "Pilgrim Congregation," but rather a "Patriarchal Community," the settlers being expected to raise in farming and related industries what was needed to support the Bethlehem servants of the Church.[16] Separately, the two settlements were dependent on each other; jointly, they were an economic unit. Such continued to be the case for several decades after Nazareth was organized as a distinct congregation on June 25, 1747. This interdependence was probably closer in matters of education than in any other phase of their Economy, and makes impossible distinctly separate accounts of their educational history. Since there was a frequent shifting of schools between the two villages, much of Nazareth's early educational development had of necessity to be incorporated in the accounts of the Bethlehem schools, discussed in the preceding chapter. Such data will here be reviewed briefly from a Nazareth standpoint, supplemented by their local schools and economic concomitants.

II. The Educational History of the Whitefield House and of the "Gray Cottage"

A. The Girls' Schools of Nazareth

1. On May 28, 1745, the twenty-six pupils of the girls' boarding school which had been housed in three different locations in

13. Also called "Ephrata."
14. From a *MS.* Appraisal of the Brethren's Real Estate at the London Synod, 1753.
15. Schlegel, Albert G. W., Moravian Education in Pennsylvania, 46.
16. Bittinger, Lucy F., *Germans in Colonial Times*, 90.

Bethlehem since its removal from Germantown in 1742,[17] were transferred to the Whitefield House at Nazareth.[18] Among them were girls from Georgia, New York, and from such Pennsylvania locations as Philadelphia, Germantown, Frederickstown, Tulpehocken, the Long Swamp and Bethlehem.[19] The whole Choir of

(Courtesy of the Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, Pa.)

THE WHITEFIELD HOUSE, Nazareth, Pa.

Single Sisters followed on June first, to live there until a Sisters' House could be provided for them in Bethlehem, and meanwhile to care for the girls of the Nazareth school. The following year, when the school contained twenty-eight girls of whom six were Indians, George Whitefield, again for a while on cordial terms with the Brethren, made his first and only visit to the spot which

17. *Supra*, 13f.
18. Levering, J. Mortimer, *History of Bethlehem, 1741-1892*, 205.
19. Brown, Elmer E., *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, 201.

he had once owned and had intended to render notable by charitable and educational work.[20] The "Nazareth Diary," under date of July 27, 1746, gives the following lucid description of that occasion:

> In the forenoon, Henry Antes, accompanied by Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Read and a man-servant, arrived from Bethlehem. Whitefield was very cordial, and on hearing Abraham Reincke named, called to mind having made his acquaintance in London. He was particularly struck by the order and cleanliness observable in all parts of our establishment, and among other things, stated it to be his conviction, that to care for and train awakened souls, was the special care of the Brethren's Church. We set the best we had before him at dinner, but he and his companions both partook sparingly. While viewing the school, he manifested extreme delight to see the children spinning with the distaff instead of the wheel. The Indian girls, however, were the objects of his most regardful interest. In fact, he was reluctant to part from them, and also from Becky Burnsides, whom he had baptized in Georgia. 'My hopes,' he observed, 'are partly realized, as Nazareth has become the seat of a school somewhat after my plan. It causes me much joy to find this place peopled by children of God.' At four o'clock the visitors set out on their return to Bethlehem by way of Gnadenthal. Whitefield took an affectionate farewell, remarking as he turned to go, 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? Come and see!'[21]

In the spring of 1748, twelve of the older girls were taken from the Nazareth school by Brother Francke and placed in the school conducted in the Bechtel House in Germantown ". . . to replace the eleven boys transferred on February 22nd of this year to the Oley school, in accordance with the plan which is being evolved to make the Germantown institution a boarding-school for girls."[22] Furthermore, the completion and occupation of the new Brethren's House in Bethlehem in 1748 led to a series of changes in the schools and choirs both of Bethlehem and of Nazareth. The former Brethren's House of Bethlehem, now available for the single sisters who had gone to Nazareth three years before, was occupied by them on November 15th. In the afternoon of January 6th of the next year, the sixteen girls of the Nazareth school, with their four teachers, were returned to Bethlehem and placed in the Bell House.[23] Into their vacated quarters

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20. *Supra*, 53ff.
21. *Diarium d. G. z. Nazareth, den 27. Juli, 1746.*
22. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 6. Mai, 1748.*
23. *Ibid., den 10. Januar, 1754.*

in the Whitefield House was placed the nursery of fifty-six children, with three widows and seven single sisters as attendants.[24]

2. A school for girls was again opened at Nazareth on December 4, 1753, when fourteen girls in charge of two sisters were transferred there from the Ysselstein House[25] across the Lehigh River from Bethlehem.[26] Four of them were girls who had been placed in the latter edifice from the abandoned Oley school in September of 1751, with four others from the Maguntsche school,[27] which at that time became a school exclusively for boys.[28] To these eight were added six girls from the Bethlehem boarding school.[29] They were placed in the Gray Cottage, the older of the two log houses which stood in the shadow of the Whitefield House.

Because Nazareth, by its exposed location, was in particular danger of attack in the Indian warfare of the winter of 1755-56, the Moravian authorities deemed it wise to send the school to Bethlehem for safekeeping during those months of hostilities. The seventeen girls were domiciled in the Single Sisters' House until June 3, 1756, when they returned to Nazareth

> . . . in five wagons and in the company of Br. and Sr. Ettwein and Br. and Sr. Martin Mack. It was a beautiful departure. Trombones were played from the balcony of the Brethren's House until all the little travelers were assembled. Our boarding-school girls formed a line along both sides of the lane at the cemetery, and sang appropriate hymns to the departing children as they passed by. It was a lovely and touching sight. Their welcome in Nazareth was just as solemn and inspiring. The children felt at home at once and entertained themselves singing hymns until bedtime.[30]

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24. *Cf.* the commemorative plaque on the wall of the Whitefield House.
25. *Supra,* 48.
26. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Kinderdiarium, den 4. Dezember, 1756.*
27. One of these girls from Maguntsche composed the following "Ode to Zinzendorf" on the occasion of his birthday, May 31, 1756:

    "Die Kinder in der Anstalt hie,
    Die in Maguntsche war,
    Wünschen dem Jünger in Harmonie,
    Ein recht vernügtes Jahr.

    Sie denken dran, und danken sehr
    Fürs Kinderbüchlein
    Eins sagt, Ich ess' und trink' und zehr
    Die süssen Verselein."

    Ibid., den 31. Mai, 1756.
28. *Ibid., den 15. September, 1751.*
29. *Ibid., den 4. Dezember, 1753.*
30. *Ibid., den 3. Juni, 1756.*

In March of 1759 it was announced to the congregation that "lack of space in Bethlehem would necessitate the translocation of all of our boys to Nazareth Hall, and the transfer of both the girls' school and the girls' nursery from Nazareth to Bethlehem."[31] Accordingly, on June 18, 1759, "the thirteen pupils of the girls' school in Nazareth were conducted to Bethlehem by Brother Graf and received into the house which the boys had just vacated."[32] This was the stone building, then the northern one of three houses on the east side of Main Street, later known as *das Familienhaus*. Thus ended Nazareth's second and last boarding school for girls.

3. There seems to have been no girls' school, day or boarding, in Nazareth from the middle of 1759 to the end of 1765. However, on November 4, 1765,

> . . . after ripe reflection it was resolved to open a day school in Nazareth for the town girls. But since the number of local girls is not sufficient, it was decided to increase this number by transporting back to Nazareth those girls who are in the Bethlehem boarding school and who have parents living in Nazareth. Accordingly, the following five girls: A. Katharine Ziegler, Catherine Schmidt, Elizabeth Eyerle, A. Elisabeth Gold, and Anna Dorothea Weinert were conducted to Nazareth today in the company of two Single Sisters, A. Margaret Klotz and Martha Manns, who will be their teachers. Br. Nathaniel Seidel went along to put the school in order.[33]

In July of the next year, Sister Manns was replaced by Sister Juliana Wackler.[34] This day school for girls seems to have had a continuous, though often weak existence, until 1850. At that time the boys' town school was separated from the boarding school at Nazareth Hall, and, with the girls' town school, became the nucleus of the Nazareth Parochial School, which continued until 1889.

Nazareth was never as successful in its educational efforts with its girls as with its boys. The grandeur of Nazareth Hall seemed to cast a shadow on the seedlings of female education and to keep them from growing into full majority. Then, too, Nazareth's proximity to the flourishing Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem made it convenient for its families to send their daughters to that important school, thereby removing any incentive which

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31. *Ibid., den 14. März, 1759.*
32. *Ibid., den 18. Juni, 1750.*
33. *Ibid., den 4. November, 1765.*
34. *Ibid., den 10. Juli, 1766.*

Nazareth may have had for improving its opportunities for girls' education at home.

B. The Nursery

With the transfer of Nazareth's first girls' boarding school to Bethlehem on January 6, 1749, its vacated quarters in the Whitefield House were taken over on the next day by the nursery, which, in turn, had just been transferred from Bethlehem.[35] Its fifty-six little boys and girls, ranging from nineteen months to five years, with ten attendants, formed the nucleus of the infant school to which all the colonial Moravian settlements sent their young children.[36] By this arrangement, parents were relieved to do their allotted work for the General Economy. In 1755, when the Indians were menacing the lowlands to the north of Nazareth, the nursery was removed to Bethlehem for measures of safety, and received temporarily into the married brethren's house.[37] After the danger had subsided, the nursery returned to the Whitefield House, which meanwhile had been occupied by refugees from the Indian hostilities in Carbon County.[38] The building was renovated in anticipation of the children's return, and since their former quarters were too small for the seventy-two infants of the nursery, an additional room was set up for the little girls and another for the little boys.[39] By 1758, it had overflowed into three rooms and the kitchen of the two-story log house nearby;[40] and "the flight of the little doves to and from their nursery was so numerous during the year, that there are now six married couples and two widows in charge."[41]

Two years later, when lack of space in Bethlehem caused the authorities to transfer the entire Bethlehem boys' school to Nazareth Hall, part of the Nazareth nursery was again brought to Bethlehem. This removal on June 5, 1769 involved only the girls in the nursery, the little boys remaining in Nazareth. The former seem to have been domiciled temporarily in the Bell House until

35. *Ibid., den 7. Januar, 1749.*
36. *Ibid., den 10. November, 1748.*
37. *Supra,* 46.
38. *Infra,* 199f.
39. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia des Kinderchors, 1756.*
40. From a *MS.* Appraisal of the Brethren's Real Estate at the London Synod, 1753.
41. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia der beiden Kinder-Anstalten in Nazareth von dem verflossenen Jahre, 1757, I. Der Nurserie.*

1764, when they were moved into the *Familienhaus.*[42] The nursery boys continued in the Whitefield House until 1764, when the dissolution of the Economy at Nazareth caused most of them to be returned to their families.[43] At that date there were only five boys left and they were transferred to the school for boys which had opened in Nazareth Hall in 1759.[44]

(Courtesy of Frank A. Banyas)

THE GRAY COTTAGE, Nazareth

III. Nazareth Hall

A. The Boys' School, the Forerunner of Nazareth Hall, 1743-1759

On the same plot with the Whitefield House is the "Gray Cottage," the oldest Moravian building in Pennsylvania, built during the winter of 1740-41 by the pioneer Brethren as a shelter while they were engaged in the construction of what had been

42. *Ibid., den 17. August, 1764.*

43. The Whitefield House has continued to the present day in the service of the Moravian Church. Between 1854 and 1859 it served as the temporary home of the Moravian Theological Seminary. In 1871 it was purchased from the Trustees of the Nazareth Congregation by John Jordan, Jr. and deeded in trust to the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen as a home for the Historical Society, also as a refuge and home for retired ministers and missionaries. Its second floor houses the museum of the Moravian Historical Society.

44. De Lawter, George W., The Story of Nazareth Hall Military Academy, 9.

intended by Whitefield to be a school for Negroes.[45] Into this one-and-a-half-story log structure John Christopher Francke brought ten boys from Bethlehem on July 18, 1743 as a nucleus for a little home school.[46] It was the first school on the Barony of Nazareth and the forerunner of Nazareth Hall. This early school, however, did not continue to have its home in Nazareth, but led a wandering life during the first sixteen years of its existence, as the exigencies of the growing work, of the State, of the Church, or of Indian warfare required, and was located successively at Frederickstown, Oley, Maguntsche, Bethlehem, then again at Maguntsche, and once more at Bethlehem, before being returned to its permanent home in Nazareth Hall in 1759.

During the sessions of the Pennsylvania Synod in March of 1745, Henry Antes[47] offered the use of his plantation in Frederickstown, in present Montgomery County, for a boarding school for boys.[48] Having thought well of his generous offer, the Brethren opened the first non-sectarian boys' boarding school in Pennsylvania[49] on June 3rd of the same year.[50] Between June 3rd and 10th, the boys of the Nazareth school were transferred to Frederickstown with some other boys from Bethlehem, as a nucleus of the more extensive establishment to be developed there. When, in 1750, the dissolution of the school was brought about by Antes' estrangement with the Brethren, sixteen of the students were transferred to the Moravian school at Maguntsche, a few were removed to Bethlehem and Gnadenhütten, and the remaining seventeen boys were placed in the Brethren's school at Oley.[51]

Financial stress during the following summer prompted the authorities at Bethlehem to merge the Oley school[52] with the one at Maguntsche.[53] Accordingly, the boys were transferred to Maguntsche on September 10, 1751.[54] Here they remained until July 23, 1753, when the Maguntsche school was deemed unsafe from Indian attack because of its isolated location, and was temporar-

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45. *Supra*, 53ff.
46. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 165.
47. *Infra*, 162ff.
48. McMinn, Edwin, *op. cit.*, 167.
49. *Infra*, 163.
50. Schlegel, Albert G. W., *op. cit.*, 35.
51. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 23. August, 1750.*
52. *Infra*, 126.
53. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 17. Juli, 1751.*
54. *Ibid., den 12. August, 1751.*

ily abandoned after five years of active service.[55] This time the remaining fourteen boys were brought to Bethlehem and quartered there in that room in the Brethren's House which some of them had occupied before they were taken to Nazareth by Brother Francke in July, 1743. By the close of 1754, it was considered again safe by the authorities to return the boys to Maguntsche. This was done on January 10, 1755, when a new boarding school was opened there, with Brother Joachim Sensemann and his wife in charge of the household, and the single brother, John Peterson, serving as preceptor, the whole establishment under the superintendence of John Ettwein and Franz Boehler with their wives, now in charge of the entire department of work among the children in outlying places.[56] The boys seem to have remained here until the end of the year, when they were for safety's sake once more removed to Bethlehem, and this time domiciled in the new building, the "Family House," which had become the home of the flourishing Boys' Institute of Bethlehem on February 20, 1755.[57]

Almost simultaneously, at Nazareth, the beginnings were made of a large stone house for the purpose of accommodating Count Zinzendorf and his retinue of fellow-pilgrims who accompanied him in his missionary labors.[58] That the edifice was intended as a *Pilgerhaus* or *Jüngerhaus*, the following document, deposited in its corner-stone on May 3, 1755, renders indisputable:

> May the Triune God, who is to be adored in the person of Christ Jesus, the Maker of the Universe and the Saviour of the World through His blood, grant us His favor, help, and blessing in every way!
>
> In the year 1755 after the birth of Christ when both hemispheres of the earth have been opened to His Gospel, and when they are for the most part subject to the rule of that most noble Prince, venerable before others, Geo. II, in the first year of the governorship of Sir Robert Hunter Morris in Pennsylvania, the Brethren have turned their labors to the erection of those foundations in the Barony of Nazareth, and have laid the corner-stone, in the presence of the following men from the celebrated town of Bethlehem (from which, as doves from the dove-cote, the Brethren fly to every region of America as Evangelists, and to which they return), the very Reverend Joseph, vicar-general in America of the Moravian Church, Peter and Matthew, bishops, Andrew Anthony Lawatsch and Gottlieb Bezold, presbyters, and Martin Mack, missionary to the Indians, amid the applause of

55. *Infra*, 158.
56. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1755.*
57. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 283.
58. Henry, James, *Sketches of Moravian Life and Character*, 194.

almost the entire host of brethren and sisters who inhabit Bethlehem, Nazareth, Gnadenthal, Christiansbrunn, and Friedenthal, also some Indians, and even boys and girls likewise cheering, there being present, besides, Brethren born not only in Europe and America, but also in Asia and Africa; and for this solemn act they have appointed the third day of the month of May, with the doctrinal text: *He hath a sharp sword with two edges,*—Rev. 2:12; with the words of the Master: *They which shall be accounted worthy to obtain the future world . . . can die no more; for they are equal unto the Angels,*—Luke 20:35; and with the Daily Word of the Church: *In Thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed,*—Gen. 12:2; a day presaging the happy fortunes of the house to be built upon these foundations and which is destined for worship and sacred meetings, and likewise (may he come to us quickly!) for the use of the *Ordinarius* (Zinzendorf) of the *Unitas Fratrum*, nay rather of the Angel of the Church of Philadelphia which flourishes particularly at this time and glories in the cross of Christ, whom with His most excellent wife Erdmuth Dorothea, of the most illustrious family of the Counts of Reuss, his greatly esteemed son-in-law John, invested with the functions of the *Ordinarius* for the congregations from among the heathen, with his daughters, his grandson and granddaughter, the entire Unity of the Brethren honors with all veneration and devotion, whose testimony concerning Jesus Christ was so blessed by God, that not only does Europe rejoice in the doctrine of salvation and abound with churches glorying in the death of Christ, but likewise America, both islands and continent, is filled with flocks exulting in Christ their Shepherd, even the Indians who lived like wild animals and the Negroes groaning in the most wretched servitude being now imbued with the gospel.

May the God of the Universe, our Lord Jesus Christ and the Father of us all, looking down upon us graciously, grant that in every corner of this house, sacred to Himself, His greatly desired presence, the wondrous care of the Father of Christ and of us, for the family of His Son, and the indefatigable labor of the Holy Spirit, our fostering Mother, informing, preparing, and adorning the virgins and brides of the heavenly and eternal Bridegroom, may be felt and perceived; and that through this means, by the doctrine of salvation, by the sacraments of the Divine Covenant, by the most holy Orders, by the wisest counsels, by the most fervent prayers, by the most august rule of God, the salvation of the Church of God and of many men may be provided; and that from this place throngs of evangelists may go forth into all the regions of the earth.

This prayer is added to the prayers of so many of the brethren and sisters of Christ, and is inserted in the inscription of this monument (may it be more durable than bronze!) by Francis Christian Lembke, at present pastor of the Church at Nazareth.[59]

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59. *Ms.* Latin Document deposited in the corner-stone of Nazareth Hall, May 3, 1755.

The building was put under roof in five months, between May 3 and September 24, 1755,[60] but soon thereafter the Indian War and the massacre at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning,[61] which drove many fugitives to Bethlehem and Nazareth, interfered with the progress of its construction,[62] Upon the completion of its first floor, the dedication service was held on November 13, 1756, by Bishops Spangenberg and Matthew Hehl.[63] Since Count Zinzendorf did not return to America, the large and imposing mansion was never used for its original designation. Shortly before his death in 1760, it was appropriated to school purposes, and during its subsequent long and fruitful history, realized to an extraordinary extent the hope expressed in the significant petition of the afore-cited prayer of dedication "that from this place throngs of evangelists may go forth into all the regions of the earth."[64]

This was the new and commodious edifice into which it was "necessary to transplant the entire boys' school of Bethlehem because of lack of space in its present quarters."[65] Accordingly, on June 6, 1759,

> . . . 111 boys and their 19 guardian angels [teachers] formed a line in front of their house in Bethlehem together with their little musicians. Br. Peter Boehler sang *God Bless Thy Going Out* and other appropriate hymns. As soon as the trombones were sounded from the balcony, the group marched, two by two, to the accompaniment of its own music, as far as the end of the lane. There the youngest boys were put into wagons and began to sing merrily. All of the others marched a few miles further, and the two oldest room companies walked all the way to the Hall. The weather was ideal for the trip, cloudy but rainless. Many brethren and sisters accompanied them partway, expressing frequent wishes for their happiness in their new home. Br. Peter Boehler, Br. Gottlieb, Br. Ettwein, and Br. and Sr. Lawatsch went all the way.[66]

This ultimate translocation to Nazareth Hall ended the boys' school's sixteen years of desultory migration, and gave it a new and permanent home for all but six of its next 170 years.

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60. Reichel, William C., *Red Rose from the Olden Time*, 292.
61. *Infra*, 199f.
62. Lennert, W. L., "History of Nazareth," *The Moravian*, I, 409.
63. *Diarium d. G. z. Nazareth, Memorabilia, 1756.*
64. *Supra*, 64.
65. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Bericht an die Gemeine, den 14. März, 1759.*
66. *Ibid., den 6. Juni, 1759.*

B. The Boys' School at Nazareth Hall, 1760-1785

The 111 boys who had been brought from Bethlehem in June, 1759 were given Brother Eckesparre as their "spiritual overseer" and Brother Michael Graf as their first principal.[67] In December of that year, Brother John Christopher Francke, who had started the first boys' school in Nazareth in 1743, with his wife, returned to head the school.[68] Annually some ten or more of its oldest boys were removed from Nazareth to the single brethren's establishment at nearby Christian's Spring,[69] and their places were filled by transfers from the nursery in the Whitefield House. An extract from the *Diary of Hannah Callender* describes her visit to Nazareth Hall on August 28, 1761, as follows:

> . . . Then we crossed a field or two to the boys' house. This was built as a habitation for Count Zinzendorf,—a large, spacious house. Ascending by a flight of steps into a large hall used for worship, the minister, our guide, played on the organ. Passed through the children's eating room which contained long narrow tables with benches covered with coarse cloth and wooden trenchers. They were not so clean as all the rest. Upstairs are the school-rooms. One room contained children between 3 and 4 years old picking cotton, so orderly and still. For any noise they made you might have been in an empty room. The next 2 rooms contained children between 5 and 6 years old knitting. In the 4th room were children between 7 and 8 years old spinning. In the 5th and last room, children were employed at their books. Pieces of their writing were fixed on the wall to raise emulation. Fourteen children in each room. The children's meeting room is a large hall on the same floor adorned with 6 pieces of painting illustrating the life of our Saviour, representing Him at full length. The third story is the bedroom containing one hundred beds for one person each. Two brethren by turns keep nightly watch with lamps burning. The great order, decency, decorum and convenience, is hardly to be expressed. We left this pleasant place with due thanks to the minister . . . [70]

The abrogation of the Economy at Nazareth in 1764 made it possible for the authorities to be more selective in their choice of students, and the resulting decrease in enrollment caused attention to be directed toward the training of assistants in the work of the ministry.[71] Consequently, Nazareth Hall ceased to be a school merely for the youth of Moravian parents, but gradually

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67. *Ibid., den 5. Juni, 1759.*
68. *Ibid., den 15. Dezember, 1759.*
69. *Infra*, 277.
70. Vaux, George, "Extracts from the Diary of Hannah Callender," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XII, 450.
71. De Lawter, George W., *op. cit.*, 11.

became an educational institution of the Church in which, according to a resolution of the Provincial Synod of 1764, "were to be educated not only skillful mechanics, but also assistants in the work of the Lord."[72] When Brother Francis Christian Lembke, who had studied at the Universities of Erfurt, Leipzig, Jena and Strassburg, and had received his degree of *Magister Philosophiae* from the last named, became director in 1763, he had 106 pupils and sixteen teachers under his superintendence. The household comprised 134 persons, all residing in the building at one time.[73] In 1764, Brother Paul Tiersch was brought from Europe to be co-director with Brother Lembke,[74] and in 1766, Brother Bennett became instructor of the English language.[75]

As a consequence of the rigid system of retrenchment of expenditures adopted by the General Synod of 1769 because of the extreme pecuniary embarrassment of the Brethren's Church arising from its vast missionary enterprises, fewer pupils were permitted to be educated, fed, and clothed at the expense of the Church. Seven were returned to their homes, but were permitted to attend the school as day scholars, while fourteen others were forthwith dismissed as being beyond a certain age.[76] The number of pupils was further diminished since the boys' nursery, discontinued after 1764, no longer sent pupils into the Hall to replace the older ones who left. Furthermore, as the day schools in the several congregations improved in character and efficiency, fewer of their pupils considered it necessary to transfer to Nazareth Hall.[77] The American Revolution struck even a harder blow on the weakening *Paedagogium*.[78] These combined stressful forces, by 1779, caused only six boys[79] to be left in Nazareth Hall, who were then transferred to Bethlehem, where on October 21 they took up their abode in the wing of the Brethren's House in which the Bethlehem *Ortsknabenanstalt* was then domiciled.[80]

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72. Synodal Minutes of 1764, April 26, 1764.
73. Reichel, Levin T., *A History of Nazareth Hall from 1755 to 1855*, 21.
74. Synodal Minutes of 1764, *loc. cit.*
75. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 3. März, 1766.*
76. *Ibid., den 6. Juni, 1771.*
77. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 2. Mai, 1744.*
78. Jordan, John W. "Nazareth, Penna. during the Revolution," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVIII, 306.
79. They were: John Merk, Samuel Bader, John Rothe, N. Michler. Chr. Hauser, and Fr. Leimbach. They were brought to Bethlehem by two teachers: Brothers Simon Peter and Jacob Hoff.
80. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 21. Oktober, 1779.*

During the ensuing six years that the school in Nazareth Hall remained closed, the spacious building was used for the residence of brethren in congregational service. The family of the warden of the congregation and of the newly planned town of Nazareth[81] took up residence in it. A number of the single sisters occupied the third floor from 1780 until their own house was completed in December of 1784. The lower story was used as the meeting-hall in the congregation of Nazareth.[82]

At the close of the American Revolution the Moravians were more favorably known to the general public than they had been during the earlier years when the Brethren had lived in their communal seclusion. Those who had visited Nazareth during the War years appreciated the Moravian system of education, and requests were received by the authorities at the boys' school in Bethlehem that the Hall might be opened to others besides Moravians.[83] These petitions were transmitted to the General Synod of the Church, convened at Herrnhut in 1782, and appropriate resolutions were thereupon adopted by that body. The further development and execution of the project were entrusted to Brother John de Watteville who paid an official visit to the congregations in America during the interval from 1784 and 1787.[84] At the close of 1784, Brother Charles Gotthold Reichel arrived from Europe to reopen the *Paedagogium* under a fully reorganized plan, and to succeed Brother Lembke as its principal.[85]

C. The Academy at Nazareth Hall, 1785-1929

The new institution, known officially as the *Paedagogium* or the "Boarding School for Young Gentlemen at Nazareth Hall," and popularly as the "Academy," was opened on October 3, 1785, with two teachers, Brothers George Mueller and Ludwig Huebner, who arrived from Bethlehem with eleven boys whose

81. A plan for the Moravian settlement of Nazareth was laid out in January of 1771, contiguous to the square in front of Nazareth Hall; surveyed and drawn September 30, 1774. The town was fashioned after an old-world type, a quadrangular area enclosed with solidly built structures of wood and stone, on one side stabling, on the second spacious barns, on the third a row of shops, and on the fourth the dwellings of the people, invariably hip-roofed, and one of them sure to be capped with a turret and belfry.

82. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 23.

83. Kachline, Susan A., *Old Nazareth*, 32.

84. De Lawter, George W., *op. cit.*, 13.

85. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 24.

transferal closed the boys' boarding school at Bethlehem for a period of eleven years, during which time the town school was the only boys' school there. At Nazareth, the boys' day or town school became an adjunct to the boarding school in the Hall,[86] and this arrangement was continued until 1850, when, during the four-year administration of Levin T. Reichel, it became a separate school.[87] This and the girls' day school were the two nuclei for the Nazareth Parochial School which lasted until 1889.

The dual purpose of the earlier boys' school as announced in 1764, "... to educate not only skillful mechanics, but also assistants in the work of the Lord,"[88] continued to be both utilitarian and cultural. The statement of the newly-organized boarding school's aim, issued to all the city, town, and country congregations at the time of its re-opening, "to train good servants, workers and teachers who will be useful in the Lord's service both at home and abroad, and of whom there is a very great dearth at present in this country,"[89] was elucidated by Brother John de Watteville as follows:

> ... The real intention is, that the boys who display an ability for the sciences should be permitted to enjoy instruction in the basic principles of the sciences several years longer than is the custom in our town schools, possibly until their sixteenth or seventeenth year, before they learn a trade; so that they may have opportunity to learn as much as may be necessary to qualify as school teachers or similar occupations, without ordinarily setting them apart entirely for study (which, however, might occasionally occur), for our congregation has suffered considerably from the lack of such men for some time already.[90]

During the seventeen years of Charles Gotthold Reichel's term as the Academy's first principal, admission was granted to 163 boys, sixty-five of whom were Moravians.[91] The first non-Moravian boarder was Joseph Shaw of Philadelphia. John Konkaput, a Housatonic Indian boy from Stockbridge, New York, entered in 1787 and was maintained in the school for some years by the State government.[92] Since many of the non-Moravian children

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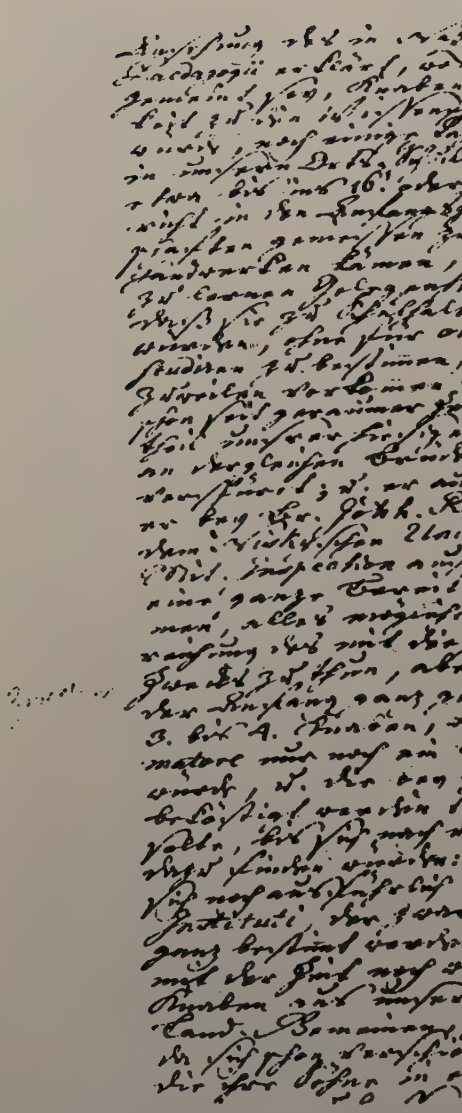
86. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 19. August, 1785.*
87. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 40.
88. *Supra*, 67.
89. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Schreiben an alle unsere N. A. Orts-Stadt-und Landgemeinen, die jährliche Collecten für die Anstalten der Gemeine betreffend, Bethlehem, den 2. September, 1785.*
90. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 15. Dezember, 1784.*
91. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 29.
92. *Ibid.*



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PLAN FOR TEACHER-TRAINING AT NAZARETH HALL, 1784
(from the Minutes of the Provincial Helpers' Conference for 1784)

were also non-German, the English language came to hold a more prominent rôle after 1785.[93] After July of 1786, English preaching was held every fourth Sunday morning for the benefit mainly of the school. The boys were required for three days in the week to use German, and for three days, English, in their daily intercourse, to facilitate the acquisition of both languages.[94] On August 28th of the same year the first pleasure grounds, then embracing an area of only fifty-five and one-half perches, were laid out to the west of the Hall. The first public examination[95] was held in October of 1789.

John C. Ogden's detailed account of his visit to Nazareth Hall in 1799 gives significant data on its building and grounds, its pupils and teachers, its curricular and extra-curricular activities, as follows:

> The day was not so far spent, but that time was afforded to visit the President or Inspector of the *Paedogogium*, or Nazareth School. He was occupied at the time, and a tutor became my company in a large recitation-hall, which is near the President's study and other apartments. The pupils and instructors are all stationed and boarded in this mansion. The recitation-hall is large and hung with maps, and some historic Scripture paintings. At the hour of evening devotions we visited the chapel, which is found in the lower or first story of this building, the schools and rooms for the inhabitants being on the second and third floors.
>
> This chapel is large and lofty, being supported by four octagon pillars and furnished with seats, which hold the visitors in the same order as in Bethlehem. In front of the President's or minister's chair and table is a large organ within a pew, which surrounds it and is erected for musicians.
>
> The service was in German. The Inspector read in the same language an account of a distinguished lady of the society, who had lately died in Carolina. This custom of reading papers of a public nature, preserves an affectionate regard for all parts of the society in all countries.
>
> In the Hall the Inspector or Principal delivered a very excellent discourse to the children and youth upon religion.
>
> From the Hall we went to the recitation room and the Inspector's study. A considerable collection of fossils, shells and birds, which were natives of America, are to be seen with other curiosities in a museum. This in time will be large, as the missionaries are busy in collecting and sending everything that is rare from every quarter.

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93. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 3. März, 1789.*
94. Reichel, Levin T., *loc. cit.*
95. *Infra*, 315ff.

A tutor joined us, who led us through the rooms appropriate to the different classes according to their order. In one was a young Indian from Stockbridge, who is supported by the State of Pennsylvania. He has discovered talents for limning and writing.

In every apartment we found a piece of music for the use of the pupils. The dormitory of this house is in the third story or garret. It is long and lofty, with a free circulation of air in the day-time, and a lamp at night. The masters and tutors sleep in the dormitories. An invariable practice in these places is to sleep each in a separate bed.

From thence we went to the garden which is appropriate to the scholars, a spot greatly admired. It is upon the slope of a hill, at the foot of which is the spring. The straight and circular walks, the windings up the hill, the falling gardens ascended by steps, the banks, the summer-houses, seats, trees, herbs, fruits, vegetables and flowers are seen in great variety. In it, youth must obtain a considerable knowledge of farming, gardening and botany.

At about a quarter of a mile within this wood is a small stream, between two hills, fed by springs. The pupils have erected a dam across this rivulet and formed a place for bathing. Two boats built for their sports are afloat in it. On all visits to this place, the pupils are attended by their instructors, and they do not enter the bath without clothing.

The scholars are boarded in the *Paedagogium*. The revenues of this house are not competent to its support, owing to the small sum charged for board and tuition. Cooking and washing for this school are performed in the neighboring Sisters' House. Provisions for eighty persons are dressed [*sic*] here.

In the school many branches of literature are taught, in order to qualify the pupils for useful, honorable and literary stations. The revenues are not competent for maintaining professors to teach all the sciences. The institution is not devoted to teaching politics as these people do not embark in war . . .

. . . Returning from these places (Gnadenthal and Christiansbrunn), I visited the Inspector of the *Paedagogium* again, and obtained further information as to the course of education.

After the clothes are washed, they are returned to the lady of the Inspector, who as a mother to the whole, delivers to each lad his own. This good woman attends also, with the same condescension, to the distribution of the fruit raised in the garden of the school. If any falls, or is collected at the proper season, it is brought to her, and she apportions it to each pupil. Thus they enjoy the benefit of their own labours, and are taught to abstain from eating unripe fruit, from unmanly pillaging and a due respect for those who may succeed them in this place.[96]

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96. Ogden, John C., *An Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pennsylvania in the Year 1799*, 42-53.

Jacob Van Vleck, who had been principal of the Female Boarding School at Bethlehem for ten years, took over the inspectorship of Nazareth Hall Academy in 1802. During his seven-year span of service, 109 boarders were admitted, of whom only eighteen were Moravians.[97] A more Americanized mode of instruction and greater attention to the English language were the outcome. During Brother Van Vleck's incumbency a theological seminary[98] was commenced in connection with Nazareth Hall,[99] principally with a view to educate classical teachers, as the procurement of such from Europe was attended with heavy expense. The three young men educated in its first class entered Nazareth Hall Academy as teachers in 1809 and 1810.

The Hall's third principal was Brother Charles F. Seidel, during whose eight years' incumbency from 1809 to 1817, 295 pupils entered the Academy, 83 of them being Moravians.[100] On the occasion of the school's twenty-fifth anniversary on October 3, 1810, all the students dined together for the first time in the new refectory. Theretofore meals had been served in the apartments of the several room-companies. One of the pupils of the Class of 1814 recalled, in 1855:

> . . . I could see us all again, seated around the board, with our pewter plates, a large dish of boiled beef, a sour-crout, or apple-pie, or wheaten pap, sprinkled with brown sugar, set before us; and I could see the large loaf in the tutor's hand, and each hungry lad gesticulating with fingers the state of his appetite. Then the weekholders' province . . . for the emptying of the garbage and bringing of water, they were entitled to the remnants of the teachers' portions at the evening meal![101]

A dwelling for the principal was erected in 1820 during the five-year administration of Brother John C. Beckler (1817-22). William Henry Van Vleck, a former pupil, theological student and teacher at Nazareth Hall, became its inspector in 1822. The school's fiftieth anniversary on October 3, 1835 occurred during the eight-year incumbency of Brother John G. Hermann. At that time the Hall's seventy-three boarders were divided into five room-companies, in charge of a total of nine teachers.[102] The fol-

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97. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 31.
98. *Infra*, 76ff.
99. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 5. Oktober, 1807.*
100. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 32.
101. From a letter written by Henry Smith, of New York, on October 19, 1855, to the reunion of the Class of 1814, held on June 6, 1856.
102. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 35.

lowing was the distribution of the Academy's 817 pupils during the first fifty years after its reorganization of 1785:[103]

204	from	Philadelphia
49	"	Bethlehem
18	"	Nazareth
14	"	Lititz
117	"	elsewhere in Pennsylvania
159	"	the City and State of New York
53	"	Baltimore
12	"	North Carolina
109	"	elsewhere in the United States, from Canada and from Europe
82	"	the West Indies

In 1836, a new refectory was built, attached to the east side of the building. During the principalship of Brother Charles Kluge (1839-44) a building suitable for a kitchen was added. Theretofore board for the resident students had been supplied from the single sisters' establishment.[104] The latter institution having been dissolved, board was provided by a matron under the direction of the principal's wife,[105] and a kitchen was accordingly built adjoining the rear of the Hall. Nazareth Hall was completely renovated in 1841. The first floor, no longer required as the meeting hall of the congregation because of the erection of the new church on the edge of the campus in 1841, was appropriated to the use of the school, and was divided into two parts, the one serving as a chapel, the other as a refectory.[106] In the same year the Board of Trustees of Nazareth Hall bought the two buildings which until then had been leased by the school from the Church congregation.[107] After 1850, when the Nazareth Moravian Congregation established a parochial school, the Hall accepted only boarding students. In the early months of the Civil War, military discipline was established at Nazareth Hall,[108] not to inspire a love for the professions of war, but to afford the healthful physical exercise of the drill and to develop mental alertness, instructive and prompt obedience to rightful authority, traits of character useful in all conditions of life. With this new feature in the

103. *Ibid.*, 36.

104. Ogden, John C., *op. cit.*, 47.

105. De Lawter, George W., *op. cit.*, 88.

106. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 38.

107. At the final dissolution of the Economy in 1771, the local congregation had received the land and physical plant of the school. These were in turn rented to the Hall authorities.

108. Adams, Oscar F., *Some Famous American Schools*, 36.

S. Reinke, del.

L. the & Endicott N.Y.

NAZARETH HALL.

Taken from Samuel Reinke's *Twelve Views*

athletic department, the school became "Nazareth Hall Military Academy."[109]

Active competition with the multitude of boarding schools that arose all over the land, many of which were and are supported by private capital, and the fact that, in the absence of an endowment, Nazareth Hall had to depend largely upon the fees of tuition, made it impossible for the school to cope with its mounting financial difficulties and caused it to close in 1929.

IV. The Moravian College and Theological Seminary

At the time of the founding of its Theological Seminary, the Moravian Church was engaged in missionary and educational work in eight American states and in many foreign lands. The leaders for this work, from 1735, had been men of European birth and training. When the Napoleonic Wars made it difficult for ministers and teachers to come to America, and when the expanding curricula of the Moravian schools demanded more and better preceptors, Brother Jacob Van Vleck, Principal of Nazareth Hall, was led to propose the making of special provision at home for this pressing want. One of the pupils at Nazareth Hall, endowed with gifts and graces that gave promise of great usefulness, furnished the immediate occasion of bringing the matter to the attention of the *Helfer Conferenz fürs Ganze der Pennsylvanischen und umliegenden Gemeinen*, of which Brother Van Vleck was at the time a member. The wish was expressed that ". . . for such boys who have the desire to study and have no opportunity to do so, an arrangement might be made at Nazareth Hall, whereby they might receive further instruction for several years and be prepared for appointment to service in school work,"[110] or "be trained as ministers of the town and country congregations with assistants for school work and other activity."[111] These entries in the *Protocoll der Provinzial Helfer Conferenz* make it clear that in fact, if not in name, the institution was planned to be a teacher-training school as well as a theological seminary.

The beginning of this new department of Nazareth Hall was made on October 2, 1807, with the two promising young men, William Henry Van Vleck, born November 14, 1790, and Peter Wolle,

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109. Blum, S. J., "Nazareth Hall Military Academy," *The North American*, Philadelphia, August 29, 1915.

110. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 1. Juni, 1802.*

111. *Ibid., den 30. Oktober, 1802.*

born January 5, 1792, in accordance with the following "Plan for the Establishment of an Institution at Nazareth Hall":

A charge for board and tuition of these men is fixed at £45 per annum for each and will be assumed by the Unity's Diacony of Institutions in Europe. As Brother Van Vleck has declared that he would bear ⅕ of the expenses of his son, *viz:* £9, the Unity's Diacony of Institutions has but £36 to pay for William Henry Van Vleck.

Inasmuch as the Unity's Elders' Conference has declared that future support of the institution is not to be expected of the Unity's Diacony of Institutions, it is desirable that the Elders' Conference of the settlement congregations in Pennsylvania might be induced to take upon themselves the support of one of the gratuities, in case a desirable candidate should be found in these congregations.

Selection of students is to be guided alike by regard for capacity to study and such promise of future usefulness in the service of the Lord as state of heart and conduct in the Boys' School may reasonably give.

Should one or another in this institution, however, not make such progress in the sciences as might be desirable, and yet give evidence of upright spirit and settled behavior, it is to be remembered that such men with a fair degree of knowledge may be useful in the Boys' School, and, subsequently, as laborers in one of the congregation choirs, or in some other sphere of church activity.

The time to be spent in the institution by the student should be that between the fourteenth and eighteenth years of age. Boys who wish to qualify for the institution should, therefore, remain in the Boys' School until the age of fourteen has been attained.

The young men of the institution shall live in the apartment of the head professor, who will in every respect faithfully care for them. He will strive to win their confidence, and in the building up of their character accustom them to habits of industry and have regard for their conduct.

Instruction will be given in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, Composition, Mathematics, General History, Ecclesiastical History, Exegesis, Geography, and Drawing.

The head professor will, to the extent that his time and duties allow, take walks with the students. As, however, this cannot be daily and it will be desirable gradually to accustom the young men to greater liberty, they might be allowed, singly or together, to go out within prescribed limits in the vicinity of the village, with the proviso that they may choose no companionship other than that of the brethren holding appointment in the Nazareth Hall and that they may nowhere turn in to a private place.

Students are not allowed to make visits in the village without permission or notice.[112]

Samuel Reincke, born August 12, 1791, was also enrolled and his support was assumed by Nazareth Hall. The professors in charge of the Seminary at its opening were Brother Ernest Lewis Hazelius and Brother John Christian Bechler.[113] The roster included two one-hour classes from nine to eleven o'clock in the morning, and the same arrangement from two to four o'clock in the afternoon, from Monday to Friday, inclusive. On Saturday mornings there were two one-hour classes from eight to ten o'clock.[114] Its broad curriculum was characteristic of the Moravian scheme of education, which generally held that professional study should be approached by the avenue of liberal studies, and was based on what had been the conviction of the Moravian Church for centuries, *viz.*, that learning without religion in ministers of the Gospel is a menace to the Church and her sacred function, and that religion without learning exposes the ministry to the imposition of error and false teaching.

After Peter Wolle completed his studies in 1810, as William Henry Van Vleck had done the year before, a new class was formed with two pupils.[115] When one of these, George Benjamin Mueller, joined the Lutheran fold, it left the Theological Seminary with only Charles Anthony Van Vleck, the younger brother of William Henry, who continued his studies privately with the Reverend Charles G. Reichel, who had succeeded Brother Jacob Van Vleck as principal of Nazareth Hall and inspector of the Theological Seminary in 1809.[116] After Charles had completed his course in 1813 and became a teacher in Nazareth Hall, the Seminary was closed, because it had been decided that it was better for young men who were candidates for the ministry to pursue a course of advanced study at Nazareth Hall up to their seventeenth year and then continue academic and theological study under some qualified minister.[117]

In July of 1820, the Theological Seminary was reopened under the inspectorship of Brother John Christian Bechler, on the basis of the following new resolutions:

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112. *Ibid., den 2. Oktober, 1807.*
113. Schlegel, Albert G. W., *op. cit.*, 24.
114. Schwarze, William N., *The History of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary*, 12.
115. Schlegel, Albert G. W., *loc. cit.*
116. Schwarze, William N., *op. cit.*, 112.
117. Schlegel, Albert G. W., *op. cit.*, 25.

1. Students must be sons of Moravian parentage and candidates for the service of the Lord in the Moravian Church.

2. The Provincial Helpers' Conference constitutes the sole board of control of the institution. It engages to make the best possible provision for vacancies in the teaching staff alike of the Boys' School and the Seminary.

3. Expenses of educating gratuiti in the institution shall be borne by the Provincial Education Funds.

4. Charges for gratuiti in the Seminary are fixed at $180.00.

5. Wherever possible, parents shall bear at least part of the expenses of sons in the Seminary.

6. Scholars in the Boys' School possessed of the necessary qualifications and who are candidates for the ministry shall in their fifteenth year enter the preparands' class and, after having completed a two-year course, be permitted to enter the Seminary. With a view to aiding the Provincial Education Fund to bear the burden laid upon it, fixed annual contributions shall be solicited from the settlement congregations and subscriptions from the town and country congregations.[118]

A classical department, preparatory to the study of theology, was opened in 1823.[119] This class subsequently developed into a full collegiate course, incorporated by an Act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, approved by Governor Andrew G. Curtin on April 3, 1863, under the title "Moravian College and Theological Seminary."[120] In 1825, the Theological Seminary was endowed by a legacy of Brother Godfrey Haga, of Philadelphia, who left $20,000 in trust for "the education of pious young men for the gospel-ministry and for missionary purposes," and in 1830 it was moved from Nazareth Hall into a newly-purchased dwelling called "The Cottage."

For the ensuing fifty years, however, the Theological Seminary had a migratory existence. The Sustentation Diacony[121] was ordered to buy for the use of the Seminary a desirable property, situated on the north side of Broad Street, a little to the west of New Street, in Bethlehem. Into this house Professor Dober and his students moved in May, 1838.[122] The preparatory class continued its work at Nazareth Hall. In 1851, the Seminary went to the rescue of Nazareth Hall, which had grown weak in numbers and had removed to the Whitefield House in its former home-town

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118. Schwarze, William N., *op. cit.*, 113.
119. Schlegel, Albert G. W., *op. cit.*, 26.
120. Schwarze, William N., *op. cit.*, 187.
121. *Infra*, 350f.
122. Schwarze, William N., *op. cit.*, 144.

of Nazareth. For little more than a year, around 1855 and 1856, the theological class attended lectures in Philadelphia. In 1858, the Moravian College and the Theological Seminary began its combined life in Bethlehem, in a building occupied by Mr. Van Kirk as a boarding school for boys.[123]

The Synod of 1864 recommended the establishment of a preparatory classical department, called a Grammar School, in connection with the Theological Seminary, where the deficiencies of those not sufficiently grounded in the basic principles of a scientific education could henceforth be supplied. It lasted until 1870.

In 1892, with the erection of Comenius Hall, the refectory and the resident professors' house, the Moravian College and Theological Seminary took up its final abode on its present campus at Elizabeth Avenue and Main Street at the northern end of Bethlehem. The next year the Helen Stadiger Borhek Memorial Chapel was built, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ashton C. Borhek. The Harvey Memorial Library and the gymnasium were twentieth-century additions.

V. Summary

If ever a settlement was rooted *a priori* in education, it is that of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, where the Reverend George Whitefield intended to establish a school for Negro orphans. Although his plan failed, the building which he had begun to erect and which the Moravians completed and named in his honor the "Whitefield House," was intimately and variously associated with the Brethren's educational endeavors during the entire first century of its existence. It housed the Bethlehem girls' boarding school and the Single Sisters' Choir during the three and a half years between the middle of 1745 and the end of 1748, a second school for girls from December of 1753 to June of 1756, and a third one between November, 1765 and the middle of the nineteenth century. When Bethlehem was too crowded to accommodate the nursery, as was the case during most of the decade betwen 1749 and 1759, that infant school was also happily quartered in Nazareth's Whitefield House.

The first school in the Barony and the forerunner of Nazareth Hall began on July 18, 1743 in the "Gray Cottage" near the Whitefield House, when John Christopher Francke brought ten boys from Bethlehem as a nucleus for a little home school. After

123. *Supra*, 49.

a migratory existence for sixteen years it was returned in 1759 to its permanent home in Nazareth Hall, that commodious and imposing mansion which had been built to accommodate Zinzendorf and his retinue of fellow-pilgrims, but which was appropriated to school purposes when the Count did not return to America. It functioned as an exclusively Moravian school for boys until 1779. Six years later it was reopened as a *Paedagogium,* or "Academy," admitting non-Moravians for the first time. Throughout the nineteenth century it flourished as one of America's most prominent boarding schools for boys, but an accumulation of social and economic factors caused its decline after the beginning of the present century and its demise in 1929.

To train the ministers and teachers whom the Moravian Church needed to execute its extensive missionary and educational program in eight American states and in many foreign lands, a Theological Seminary was founded at Nazareth Hall on October 2, 1807. Three years following its reorganization in 1820, a preparatory or classical department was added, which subsequently developed into a full collegiate course. After a half century of numerous changes in location, the Moravian College and Theological Seminary began its combined life in Bethlehem, where finally in 1892 it was established on its present campus.

The frequent shifting of schools and their personnel between the patriarchal community of Nazareth and the pilgrim congregation of Bethlehem was only one phase of the educational interdependence between those two Moravian towns. Jointly they were pedagogically complementary, Nazareth being the main instructional center for boys, while Bethlehem was more successful with the education of girls.

Chapter IV

THE SCHOOLS OF WARWICK AND LITITZ

I. From *Landgemeine* to *Ortsgemeine*

During Count Zinzendorf's farewell visit to Lancaster County in December of 1742, he delivered an address at the home of Jacob Huber, a German Lutheran, who had frequently and graciously opened his house to the Moravian itinerant missionaries sent out from Bethlehem.[1] The Count's audience undoubtedly would have been greater if Huber's neighbor, George Klein, had not made efforts to dissuade others from attending the sermon and to excite unkind feelings toward the speaker.[2] As it was a time of fervent religious awakening among the Germans of Pennsylvania, brought about largely through the testimony of Moravian evangelists, it was not unnatural that Klein's spirit should be greatly troubled during the night because of his prejudiced conduct, and he apologetically resolved to follow the Count to Lancaster on the following day.[3] There he heard Zinzendorf preach in the court-house and was moved to identify himself with the Moravians.[4]

It was the same George Klein, farmer and affluent landholder, who generously translated into reality the spiritually-awakened settlers' desire for the establishment of a Moravian country congregation at Warwick. In 1746, he donated three and three-quarter acres on the eastern end of his extensive farm "on the declivity of a slight hill about 1600 yards east of the springhead of Carter's Run" as the site of the proposed *Gemeinhaus,* which, according to Moravian usage of the time, served as a chapel, schoolhouse and parsonage combined.[5] Building operations began in November, and on March 29th of the following year, the cornerstone was laid by the resident Pastor Daniel Neubert and by Lawrence Nyberg, founder and pastor of the Union Church of St. James which had been erected on Klein's land a few years before and whose pulpit had since been occupied by a series of

1. Croll, C. P., "Through the State's Garden County," *Pennsylvania-German,* I, 23.
2. Mombert, J. I., *An Authentic History of Lancaster County,* 380.
3. Schwarze, William N., *Two Centuries of Service,* 3.
4. Wilson, Rufus R., *Rambles in Colonial Byways,* II, 152.
5. Schwarze, William N., *loc. cit.*

itinerant preachers from Bethlehem.[6] In May of 1748, Brother and Sister Leonard Schnell became the first occupants of the house, which was dedicated to God's service by Bishops Spangenberg and de Watteville on February 9, 1749.[7]

The Warwick congregation was a *Landgemeine*, a "country congregation," the members of which lived scattered on their farms, and not in a close settlement, as was the case in the "Pilgrim Congregation" at Bethlehem and in the "Patriarchal Economy" at Nazareth. The two preceding chapters have attempted to show how the two latter congregations were, of necessity, peculiarly constituted. As emigrants continued to arrive from Europe who were not always fitted for the labors of the pilgrim or patriarchal settlements or willing to submit to the restrictions and self-denials imposed by them, it was resolved by Count Zinzendorf and Bishop Spangenberg to provide a third congregational settlement, or *Ortsgemeine*, in Pennsylvania, which would afford Moravians more freedom of action and enterprise than prevailed at Bethlehem or Nazareth, and yet would bring the Brethren under closer spiritual supervision and fellowship in the Church than could be obtained in the country congregations in which the members lived widely scattered.[8] Warwick was the country congregation which by its location and rapid increase seemed best fitted for this purpose.[9]

The proposed church-settlement had its start on August 20, 1754, when George Klein, who had given the original site for the *Gemeinhaus*, transferred his entire tract of 491 acres to the Brethren, in return for which he was to receive an annuity of £70 during his life.[10] The town was laid out by the Reverend Nathaniel Seidel and John Reuter in 1756, in which year Zinzendorf sent word from Saxony that it was to receive the name of "*Litiz*,"[11] after the Barony of Litiz [*sic*] in Bohemia, where almost three hundred years before, in 1457, the founders of the

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6. Historical Account of the Beginning and the Continuance of the Brethren's Congregation in and about Lititz in Warwick Township; Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, prepared for the Congregational Festival on August 13, 1790, Part III.
7. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 9. Februar, 1749.*
8. Brickenstein, H. A., *Early History of Lititz*, 347.
9. *Ibid.*, 348.
10. Bricker, Alice H., An Examination of the Records of the *Aufseher Collegium* of the Community of Lititz, Pennsylvania, from 1802 to 1844, p. 22.
11. The earlier spelling.

Unitas Fratrum had found asylum and organized their church.[12] The new church-settlement of Lititz was committeed to the superintendency of Bishop Matthew Hehl, Bishop Spangenberg's coadjutor at Bethlehem.[13] The business and social life of the village was organized about the Church. Matters requiring adjustment, advice and corrections were referred to the *Aufseher Collegium*, or "Committee on Temporal Affairs." A new and more commodious *Gemeinhaus* was built as a place of worship, and for the purpose of Christian supervision, education and employment, the usual structural features of a Moravian religious community, the "choir houses," were soon erected. The Brethren's House and the Sisters' House were built between the years 1758 and 1761.[14] In 1759, the original country congregation of Warwick and the newly-established church-settlement of Lititz were united.[15]

In the several buildings named in the preceding brief account of the establishment of Lititz was centered the educational program for the youth of that settlement. The remainder of the present chapter will amplify their rôle in that extensive program.

II. The Warwick School

On May 24, 1748, in the Warwick *Gemeinhaus*, begun in late autumn of 1746[16] and completed by early spring of 1748,[17] Brother Leonard Schnell commenced a school with four boys and three girls, his wife Elizabeth teaching the latter.[18] During the next month, Brother and Sister Reinhart Ronner arrived from Bethlehem as assistants in the school.[19] The following year, Brother Christian Henry Rauch took charge of the congregational and school work at Warwick.[20] In July of 1750, Brother and Sister Michael Zahm were transferred from the Moravian School at Oley to replace the Ronners at Warwick.[21] Other teachers in suc-

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12. Schwarze, William N., *op. cit.*, 4.
13. Levering, J. Mortimer, *History of Bethlehem, Pa., 1741-1892*, p. 27
14. *Historical and Pictorial Lititz*, 13.
15. Klein, H. M. J., *History of Lancaster County*, 243.
16. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 31, Oktober, 1746.*
17. *Ibid., den 21. Dezember, 1747.*
18. Historical Account of the Beginning and the Continuance of th Brethren's Congregation in and about Lititz in Warwick Towi ship, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, prepared for the Congregational Festival on August 13, 1790, Part III.
19. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 24. Juni, 1749.*
20. Dubbs, Joseph H., *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, 123.
21. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 17. Juli, 1750.*

cession, up to 1764, were George and Susan Nixdorf,[22] Frederick and Barbara Schlegel,[23] Michael and Regina Zahm for a second time,[24] George and Margaret Elizabeth Pitschmann,[25] Albert and Maria Russmeyer,[26] Gottfried and Marianna Rösler,[27] Christian and Anna Krogstrup,[28] and John and Magdalena Schweisshaupt.[29]

Wrote Brother Philip Christian Bader[30] who visited the Warwick school in January of 1753,

> . . . The number of pupils was the largest of the country congregational schools and reached approximately 55. They are very dear and manageable children. On every Wednesday afternoon Br. and Sr. Nixdorf allow them to hold a singing-school in place of their regular afternoon session. The Warwick parents are being educated through their children, and are being made so curious that they wish to be allowed to listen in with their boys and girls.[31]

Of a subsequent visit to Warwick from March 30 to April 5, 1754, Brother Bader gave the following account:

> The school, as previously, took its orderly course . . . and was very well attended. The pupils were happy and sat there quietly like little gentlemen. Br. Schlegel did beautifully with his teaching, but had a rather difficult task since his wife could not assist him because of their little child. He had to conduct the two classes in separate rooms.[32]

During the school's tenth year, 1758, there were from seventy to seventy-seven children enrolled in it,[33] fourteen of whom were

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22. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1751.*
23. *Ibid., Kurzgefasste Relation von Bruder Baders abermaligen Schul-Visitation im Lande vom 25. Februar zum 20. April, 1754, Warwick.*
24. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 19. April, 1757.*
25. *Ibid., den 19. Mai, 1757.*
26. *Ibid., den 12. Juni, 1750.*
27. *Ibid., den 1. September, 1761.*
28. *Ibid., den 27. Mai, 1752.*
29. *Ibid., den 8. Juli, 1764.*
30. Brother Bader, former student and teacher at the University of Jena, made three supervisory visits among the schools of the *Landgemeinen* of Pennsylvania, introducing the "Jena" method of teaching, spelling, writing, reading and arithmetic. *Infra,* 303ff.
31. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Bruder Baders Diarium von seiner Reise und Besuch derer Schulen im Lande vom 16. November, 1752 bis zum 28. Februar, 1753. Warwick.*
32. *Ibid., Kurzgefasste Relation von Bruder Baders abermaligen Schul-Visitation im Lande vom 25. Februar zum 20. April, 1754. Warwick.*
33. *Ibid., Memorabilia, April, 1758.*

from Donegal.[34] The "Memorabilia of 1758" lamented that "the school would have been noticeably stronger, if only there were more room."

Meanwhile, in 1757, the town of Lititz had been laid out by Bishop Spangenberg on the large tract of land transferred to the Brethren by George Klein,[35] with a view to turning the country congregation of Warwick into a church settlement. Already in 1756, the Reverend Daniel Neubert, who had helped construct the Warwick school almost ten years before, again commenced the building of a small stone structure for a school-house in Lititz.[36] On May 15, 1759, the Warwick and Lititz congregations were declared to be one.[37] Between 1758 and 1761 the Brethren's House and the Sisters' House were erected in Lititz.[38] The cornerstone for the new *Gemeinhaus* was laid on May 17, 1762.[39]

With the development of Lititz, the school in the old Warwick *Gemeinhaus* began to decline soon after 1760, and in 1762 it numbered only nineteen pupils.[40] It seemed to have become a school almost exclusively for Moravian boys from outlying areas. By 1764, the congregation found it difficult to support a schoolmaster there, and

> . . . in a separate meeting of the brethren and sisters from the outlying farms, Brother Matthew Hehl proposed ways in which Brother Schweishaupt, who lived in the schoolhouse as the schoolmaster of the Brethren's boys from the outlying districts, might receive his support:
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> 1) the Brethren could continue to supply him with provisions;
> 2) he might collect a fixed tuition from the boys who came to the schools, or
> 3) he might be supplied with a cow; and further, to help the support of the congregation workers, it

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34. Brother Henry Beck, teacher of the Donegal School (*Infra*, 138ff.) was in poor health at the beginning of 1758; and, apparently, until Brother Gottfried Rösler arrived on June 12th to assist him, his pupils were sent to the school in the Warwick *Gemeinhaus*.
35. *Supra*, 83.
36. Brickenstein, H. A., *op. cit.*, 350.
37. Historical Account of the Beginning and the Continuance of the Brethren's Congregation in and about Lititz in Warwick Township, Lancaster County in Pennsylvania, prepared for the Congregational Festival on August 13, 1790, Part VII.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 6. Januar, 1762.*

> might be necessary to take up a collection every Sunday after the meeting of the non-communicant members. Everyone agreed to this.[41]

A few months later it was announced to the Warwick brethren who had helped with the building of the old schoolhouse, that "Brother Schweisshaupt, the present teacher of the Warwick children, would accept a call to Lancaster."[42] It was reported to them at the same time that

> . . . every effort was being made to get a teacher who could maintain himself with a trade, because the Brethren were not able to support a teacher, but that as yet no such person could be found; therefore the question was being brought to their attention whether it really was necessary for a teacher to occupy the schoolhouse at all, because only about five or six children came to school and there was little hope for the school's growth. The Brethren considered it unnecessary to have a teacher live in the house for the reason just cited, and said that because the house needed so many repairs, it should rather be torn down and the materials taken to Lititz, in order to build a house there where the Brethren from a distance could stay on Sundays before and between services. It was recommended that they give these matters further consideration for a week, when they should be prepared with a decision.[43]

Although the Brethren were not able to settle conclusively the school's fate within the appointed time, after a week's deliberation they decided "that the schoolhouse should stand empty for a while, until it could be made clear what should best be done with it."[44] Accordingly, the school was closed on October 24, 1764,[45] and there seems to have been no school of any kind in the church settlement of Lititz during the remainder of that year. A school for the Lititz children had been begun by Brother John Christopher Francke on January 2, 1764, with eight boys in the morning and seven girls in the afternoon, but it passed out of existence during its first summer, and was not reorganized until early in 1765.[46] During the last few months of 1764,

> . . . Brother Francke visited the brethren and sisters on their farms and entreated them not to permit their children to forget what they had learned about reading and writing in school, and to urge them not only to practice these subjects but also to

41. *Ibid., den 8. Juli, 1764.*
42. *Ibid., den 7. Oktober, 1764.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid., den 14. Oktober, 1764.*
45. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1764.*
46. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1765*

> advance in them . . . We are looking forward to the Lord for a day school for the children in Lititz, and beg Him to send ways and means to enable us to begin and to continue such an indispensable institution in our settlement congregation. There is no lack of desire, but the means to carry it out are not here.[47]

The vacated Warwick schoolhouse was dismantled, log by log, in two days' time; its materials were removed to the village of Lititz before the end of 1765; and the building was re-erected by April 24th of the following year.[48] After its enlargement and renovation were completed in 1768, it served ". . . not only as a comfortable place where the outlying brethren could tarry before and between services on Sundays and on Festival Days as in former times, but also as a school,"[49] which latter purpose it continued to serve until 1793. Except for a brief period of coeducational efforts, most of the twenty-five years of its educational history in Lititz were devoted to boys' schooling, and its development during that period will be discussed under that heading later in this chapter.

III. Girls' Education in Lititz and the Development of Linden Hall Seminary

The first schools in Lititz seem to have been established as temporary arrangements for taking care of the local pupils during the time that the old *Gemeinhaus* was being taken down, removed from Warwick, and re-erected in Lititz. Such a school was the one begun in Lititz by Brother John Christopher Francke, on January 2, 1764, in which eight boys were taught in the morning and seven girls in the afternoon.[50] This first educational venture in Lititz was discontinued during the following summer, but was reorganized on January 30, 1765, by Brother Nicholas Henry Eberhard with six boys in the morning, and by Sister Elizabeth Bürstler on February 18, 1765, with five girls in the afternoon.[51]

That those sporadic efforts in behalf of the education of the youth of Lititz were very inadequate is surmised from the Brethren's fervent petition to God, included in the "Memorabilia of 1764" in the "Lititz Diary," that "He send the ways and means for a much-needed day school for the children in Lititz." This

47. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1764.*
48. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1766.*
49. *Ibid., den 20. November, 1768.*
50. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1765.*
51. *Ibid.*

prayer was partially granted the Brethren when, on August 21, 1766, a day school was begun in a room in the Sisters' House for the town girls, some of whom had attended the school in the Warwick *Gemeinhaus* before its abandonment on October 24, 1764.[52] Its ten girls were taught by two single sisters, Elizabeth Bürstler and Anna Maria Kohn, under the supervision of Brother Matthew Hehl.[53] Although it was referred to as a *Tagesanstalt*, or "day school," from the very beginning it included pupils from beyond the village circle, from Lancaster, Bethlehem, and other Moravian congregations, who were boarded usually in the Sisters' House.[54] By 1768, there were fifteen girls in the school.[55]

Just at that time, Brother Grube's school[56] was turned into a day school solely for boys,[57] and its girls were transferred, presumably, to the school in the Sisters' House. The increase in enrollment seemed to justify its transferal from the Sisters' House into quarters of its own. A proposal was offered by the Provincial Helpers' Conference that the girls be transferred to the Warwick schoolhouse which had been transplanted to Lititz and which was being renovated at about that time.[58] This plan was rejected in favor of the erection of a new building for the girls' school.[59] On May 22, 1769, Bishop Matthew Hehl laid the cornerstone,[60] and on November 14th of the same year the girls moved out of the Sisters' House where they had been for three years and three months, into their new house which occupied the site of what is now the principal's office and part of the dining-room of the present Linden Hall. On that date, there were two sisters and sixteen girls, two of the latter boarding and sleeping in the school.[61]

In the same year, however, the General Synod passed a resolution that "wherever practicable, all church schools *(Anstalten)* were to be changed into parochial day-schools *(Schulen)* to lessen

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52. *Ibid., Memorabilia der ledigen Schwestern, 1766.*
53. *Ibid., den 21. August, 1766.*
54. *Ibid., Memorabilia der kleinen Mädchenanstalt in Lititz im ledigen Schwesternhaus, 1768.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Infra*, 98.
57. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Memorabilia der Knabenanstalt in Lititz, 1769.*
58. *Protocoll der Oeconomats-Conferenz, Lititz, den 19. April, 1768.*
59. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 9. August, 1768.*
60. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 22. Mai, 1769.*
61. *Ibid., den 14. November, 1769.*

the cost.''[62] The adoption of this policy in Lititz, in 1771, left only one boarding-pupil in the girls' school, five-year-old Elizabeth Ricksecker, whom Sisters Bürstler and Kohn took back to the Sisters' House. Only day pupils, fourteen in number, remained in school.[63] Furthermore, the effects of the Revolutionary War were strongly felt in Lititz, especially after Brandywine when the Brethren's House was taken over as a military hospital for about two hundred of the sick and wounded soldiers. An epidemic of diphtheria which broke out among them spread through the town and claimed many of its inhabitants.[64] When these several factors had caused the number of girls in the school to dwindle to four, the Elders' Conference resolved to close the school altogether on May 31, 1775,[65] especially since it was ''the season of sowing and planting, and the children often go into the fields with their mothers.''[66] The following year the *Anstalt* building was sold to and occupied by Dr. Adolph Meyer, a physician from Philadelphia. Five months later, on November 2nd, the four little girls were taken into Brother Gottfried Rösler's village school for boys and for children from outlying districts, the only remaining school in Lititz at that time.[67] From 1775 to 1784 the boys and girls seem to have been grouped together.

The return of a peaceful and regular mode of life to Lititz after the Revolution brought a renaissance of girls' education

62. Hamilton, J. Taylor, *A History of the Moravian Church*, 218.
63. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Memorabilia, 1771.*
64. *Ibid., den 10. April, 1775.*
65. *Ibid., Memorabilia der ledigen Schwestern, 1775.*
66. *Ibid., den 31. Mai, 1775.*
67. *Ibid.,* The *Memorabilia der Kinder, 1776, reads:*

''Zur Schule sind auch wir
Sehr gerne gegangen.
Bald aber wäre sie schier
Gar eingegangen.
Der Br. Rösler hat
Uns schnell verlassen.
Wie weinten wir uns satt,
Ja, übermaasen!
Doch wurde Br. Grub'
Willig von Herzen,
Er kam in unsere Stub'
Stillt unsere Schmerzen.
Und sagte: 'Kinderlein,
Seid nicht verlegen,
Ich will nun bei euch sein
Bei Gottes Segen.'''

there. By October of 1784, a separate girls' school had again been created and was being conducted in the "Cabinet," or "Weaver's House,"[68] "until the Sisters could again find room for it in their House."[69] Sister Polly Russmeyer was placed in charge of the little girls.[70] Late in 1785, some of the girls were transferred to the northwest room of the Sisters' House,[71] to which a wing had been added earlier that year.[72] One room in the Weaver's House still continued to be used for classroom purposes until 1804.[73] Twelve girls attended in 1790.[74]

During the last decade of the eighteenth century an incident occurred which broadened the scope, usefulness and influence of the simple parochial school, caused its immediate reorganization into the Lititz Boarding School, and made possible its subsequent expansion into the famous Linden Hall Seminary. In 1794, Mrs. Marvel of Baltimore, on a visit to Lititz, was so well impressed with the girls' school in the Sisters' House that she requested the sisters to enroll her nine-year-old daughter, Margaret. On September 7th, Peggy, as she came to be called, became the forty-six-year-old school's first non-Moravian pupil.[75] Sarah Schaeffer from Tulpehocken was the second such pupil. Mrs. Thomas Smith, the former Anna Mary Henry, daughter of Judge John J. Henry of Lancaster, wrote many years later:

> . . . I was the sixth scholar of the newly-established institution of young ladies. Sister Krieger was the Superintendent of the Sisters' establishment, and carefully did she watch and ward every evil from our young heads and hearts.[76]

In 1799, Sister Mary Penry[77] wrote to Mrs. Elizabeth Drinker:

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68. The "Cabinet" or "Weaver's House," built in 1770, was a small frame building that stood, until 1910, in the space between the Sisters' House and the present parsonage.
69. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 11. Oktober, 1784.*
70. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1784.*
71. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1785.*
72. *Ibid., den 26. Juli, 1785.*
73. Ellis, Franklin, and Evans, Samuel, *History of Lancaster County, Pa.*, 1088.
74. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 26. Oktober, 1790.*
75. Schwarze, William N., *op. cit.*, 8.
76. "Communication from a former scholar of the Lititz Female Boarding School, August 1, 1756," *The Moravian*, I, 31.
77. Miss Penry was a Welsh lady who came to this country in 1744 with her widowed mother. She left a circle of friends prominent and influential in Philadelphia, to join the Choir of Single Sisters in Lititz. Her letters, 1799-1802, were presented to the library of the school by Mr. John W. Jordan of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, who had received them from Mr. Henry Biddle.

> We have a pretty little Boarding-School in our House (Sisters' House) of eight fine girls, the youngest is from Baltimore and not quite seven years of age. Numerous applications have been made and are still making, but as we cannot increase our numbers for want of teachers, every one must wait for a vacancy.[78]

Again, under date of June 14, 1801, Sister Penry wrote:

> Our little boarding school is now eighteen in number . . . We have been hitherto very fortunate in having among our children none whom we could not keep with us. They are, in general, pliable and good-natured, and not corrupted in their manners.

During the first ten years of the reorganized boarding school, sixty-three pupils entered,[79] whose accommodation required more commodious quarters than the Sisters' House could afford. The need was partly met when, in September of 1803,

> Brother and Sister Ellert Coortsen and Brother and Sister Russmeyer moved out of their house; Russmeyers went to live with their children, and Ellerts moved into the Sturges' house. These changes were made necessary because their house was being added to and newly prepared for the Boarding School.[80]

Although a resolution was passed by the Provincial Heipers' Conference in June, 1803, that the number of boarding pupils should not exceed forty at any given time, because a larger institution might prove cumbersome in a small community,[81] another property was acquired for the school during the ensuing year. The *Anstalt* building, which had been erected in 1769, occupied by the school until May 31, 1775, and subsequently sold to Dr. Adolph Meyer as a dwelling, was again made a part of the girls' school.[82] A third story and a wing were added and other improvements made. In the basement was a large dining-room to which all meals were brought over from the Sisters' House; the first

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78. Sister Mary Penry's Letter, 1799.

79. Beck, Herbert H., *Linden Hall, 1746-1921. A Century and Three-Quarters of Life and Service,* 13.

80. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Memorabilia,* 1803.

81. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 28. Juni, 1803.*

82. Dr. Meyer died in 1781. Six years later, the Board of Overseers, bought back the *Anstaltshaus* from his heirs for £300, because the Church was anxious to control the future residents there, since it was so near the Sisters' House. When the latter and the "Cabinet" were severely taxed for room, the *Anstalt* was used for the school.

and second stories contained classrooms; and the third floor was occupied as a dormitory and a sick-room.[83]

On October 26, 1804, six teachers[84] and twenty-four pupils moved into their enlarged and renovated building and solemnly celebrated its dedication in the following manner:

> At half-past one o'clock in the afternoon the children of the Boarding School had a closing service in their old dwelling. Thereupon, in the company of Brn. Meder and Herbst[85] they marched from the Sisters' House to their rooms in the new building. Trumpets played several times during their procession. The brethren and sisters of the Elders' Conference and other guests had already gathered in the dormitory of the new house, and as the children marched in, they were greeted by a hymn of welcome initiated by Br. Loskiel. After everyone was seated and the children had delivered purposeful and appropriate recitations, everyone partook of a pleasant lovefeast amid music and song. Then Br. Meder dedicated the new house to the Lord, particularly the dormitory, and entrusted to the Lord's faithful guidance and loving care all those children who at present or in the future would be educated in the institution. Then the beloved guests from Bethlehem and Nazareth and the members of the Elders' Conference were taken to inspect the three room-companies that were the first to be set up.
>
> On the 27th, at noon, all of the guests ate dinner with the boarding pupils in the dining-hall. Later, in the presence of the above-named brethren and sisters, and amid appropriate hymns rendered by the children, the little chapel in the new house was solemnly dedicated to the Lord.[86]

A day-school department for the local girls continued to be maintained as an adjunct to the boarding school. At the close of 1804, seventeen day pupils and fifty-two boarders attended.[87] These two departments of the girls' school were the only female educational institutions in Lititz from 1784 until approximately 1827, at about which time Sister A. Rosina Rauch opened an infant school for girls in her one-and-a-half-story frame house on the lower end of what is now Water Street, which apparently con-

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83. Mombert, J. I., *op. cit.*, 468.

84. They were Sisters Sally Fetter, Maria Heckewelder, Mary Elizabeth Kummer, Rosina Kornmand, Elizabeth Ebert and Eliza Colver.

85. John Herbst was principal from 1794 to 1802; John Meder, from 1802 to 1805.

86. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 27. und 28. Oktober, 1804.*

87. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1805.*

BRETHRENS CHURCH, PARSONAGE & YOUNG LADIES ACADEMY, AT LITIZ, PENNA

Taken from Samuel Reinke's *Twelve Views*

tinued until 1852, when the public school system was introduced into Lititz.[88]

In 1844, during the principalship of the very capable Reverend Eugene A. Frueauff, the main school building was enlarged, principal's apartments, parlor, and prayer hall being added.[89] During the eighteen years of his first term of service as principal, the number of pupils increased from twenty-eight in 1838 to more than a hundred. To him is attributed the name "Linden Hall," by which the school is now widely and proudly known, for Mrs. Frueauff and he planted "the basswood saplings, destined to add so much to the school besides its name."[90]

About 1857, with the passing of the old choir-house system in Lititz, the Sisters' House was made part of Linden Hall Seminary.[91] The institution was chartered by Act of the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1863.[92] *Linden Hall Echo,* the Seminary's student publication, made its appearance in January of 1877.[93] A beautiful chapel, given by Mr. George W. Dixon in memory of his daughter, Mary Dixon, of the Class of 1879, was dedicated in February, 1885.[94] The new auditorium and gymnasium building was erected in 1907.[95] During the long and able administration of the late Reverend F. W. Stengel, a four-story wing annex was added to the former Sisters' House; buildings, furnishings and equipment were modernized; the "campus beautiful" was expanded to cover a thirty-five-acre tract.[96] Inner developments kept pace with external improvements; and in 1928, accreditation

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88. Klein, H. M. J., *op. cit.*, 254. The roster of the men who served as principal for the girls' boarding school after its reorganization in 1794 includes: John Herbst, 1794-1802; John Meder, 1802-1805; John F. Frueauff, 1805-1815; Andrew Benade, 1815-1822; John C. Bechler, 1822-1824; Samuel Reinke, 1824-1826; John G. Kummer, 1826-1830; Charles F. Kluge, 1830-1836; Peter Wolle, 1836-1838; Eugene A. Frueauff, 1838-1855; Julius T. Bechler, 1855-1862; William C. Reichel, 1862-1868; Eugene A. Frueauff, 1868-1873; Herman A. Brickenstein, 1873-1892; Charles B. Shultz, 1892-1897; Charles L. Moench, 1897-1898; Charles D. Kreider, 1898-1912; Ernest S. Hagen, 1912-1915; F. William Stengel, 1915-1947; Byron K. Horne, 1947—.
89. Beck, Herbert H., *op. cit.*, 14.
90. Schwarze, William N., *op. cit.*, 11.
91. Beck, Herbert H., *loc. cit.*
92. *Laws of Pennsylvania*, 1863. Acts 282, 283.
93. Schwarze, William N., *op. cit.*, 12.
94. Beck, Herbert H., *loc. cit.*
95. Schwarze, William N., *loc. cit.*
96. *Ibid.*, 13.

was secured from the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. A post-graduate department, instituted in 1880,[97] was developed and expanded into a junior college in September, 1935, since which date the venerable institution has been known as "Linden Hall Junior College and School for Girls."

IV. Boys' Education in Lititz and the Development of the John Beck Academy

When Brother John Christopher Francke attempted, in January of 1764, to teach eight boys in the morning and seven girls in the afternoon,[98] he seems to have established the first school in Lititz. It lasted only a few months. Early the following year it was revived by Brother Nicholas Henry Eberhard and Sister Elizabeth Bürstler, the former with six boys in the morning, the latter with five girls in the afternoon.[99] When Brother Eberhard was transferred to the Moravian settlement at Oldman's Creek, New Jersey, a few months later, his boys' school in Lititz was taken over by Brother Bernhard Adam Grube from Bethlehem.[100] The closing of the school in the log *Gemeinhaus* at Warwick on October 24, 1764 affected not only the Warwick children, but also those within a radius of about four miles. Brother Grube's school in Lititz, opened on June 10, 1765, seems to have been intended for both the Lititz boys as well as for those children from outlying districts.[101] At the end of 1767, "Brother Grube was still conducting the school, although it was being attended by only nine boys."[102]

Meanwhile, the old Warwick *Gemeinhaus* had been dismantled in 1765 and re-assembled in Lititz in 1766. In 1768, on November 22, it was reopened for educational purposes, when Brother and Sister Gottfried Rösler began a school there with twenty-five children, comprising fifteen boys and ten girls from Warwick and other outlying areas.[103] On April 10, 1769, Brother Grube's

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97. Weitzel, Louise A., "Linden Hall Seminary," *Historical and Pictorial Lititz*, 27.
98. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Memorabilia, 1764.*
99. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1765.*
100. Historical Account of the Beginning and Progress of the Brethren's Country Congregation in Warwick, and the subsequent Brethren's Church-settlement of Lititz, in Lancaster County in Pennsylvania, June 9, 1765.
101. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 26. Mai, 1765.*
102. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1767.*
103. *Ibid., Memorabilia des Ehechors, 1768.*

school was reorganized into a day school for boys and subsequently called the *Ortsknabenanstalt* of Lititz.[104] If any pupils from the outlying districts were in Brother Grube's school at that time, they were presumably removed to Brother Rösler's school. The girls, no doubt, were transferred to the girls' school which was being conducted in the Sisters' House and for which a new *Anstaltshaus* was erected before the end of that year.[105] As a result of such reorganization, Brother Grube's *Ortsknabenanstalt* consisted of sixteen pupils at the close of 1769.[106] It was at first conducted in "a room prepared expressly for it in the second story of the former Warwick *Gemeinhaus*,"[107] the building which was also accommodating Brother Rösler's school; but before the end of 1769, "it was transferred into the Brethren's House in which a room was appropriately set up for it."[108] Because Brother Grube had been sent to Lititz "foremost and principally as a minister and only secondarily to help the school there,"[109] the instruction, after 1769, was entrusted to two single brethren, Tobias Hirte and Philip Jacob Höcher.[110] The latter, who had come from Nazareth Hall, was succeeded the following year by the young single brother, Matthew Leonard Hehl,[111] who served as an instructor until May, 1771.[112] Hirte remained a teacher in Lititz until October, 1778; and, during 1771 at least, seems to have "conducted classes for five hours daily with the fourteen boys then enrolled."[113]

In response to the recommendation of the General Synod, held at Marienborn, Germany, in 1769, that retrenchment of expenditures be effected in all Moravian settlements, especially in the management of their schools,[114] it was decided in Lititz, in May of 1771, to merge the school for the Warwick children with the

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104. *Ibid., Memorabilia der Knabenanstalt in Lititz, 1769.*
105. *Supra,* 90.
106. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Memorabilia der Knabenanstalt in Lititz, 1769.*
107. *Ibid., den 16. Mai, 1768.*
108. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia, 1769.*
109. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 26. Mai, 1765.*
110. *Ibid., Memorabilia des ledigen Brüderchors, 1769.*
111. *Ibid., den 25. Juni, 1770.*
112. Continuation of the history of Lititz, containing the noteworthy events and changes from 1742 to 1770, set forth in the Church Book of Lititz, folios 1 to 80, 1771-1779, May, 1771.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Supra,* 20.

Ortsknabenanstalt, and to place Brother Rösler in charge of the combined institution, with Tobias Hirte as his assistant. In the same year, the proceeds from the sale of the St. James' Church in Lititz[115] were used in improvements on the old Warwick *Gemeinhaus* which became the home for Brother Rösler's consolidated school.[116] This was the only school for boys in Lititz between 1771 and 1827, when a primary school for boys was opened by Sister Elizabeth Traeger.[117]

With the sharp decline in the enrollment of the girls' school in its new *Anstaltshaus* around 1773, and the consequent closing thereof two years later, its four remaining pupils were placed in Brother Rösler's school in the old *Gemeinhaus* on November 2, 1775.[118] On that date, Brother Rösler's school consisted of thirty pupils.[119] Between 1775 and 1784 it was the only educational institution in Lititz.[120] On the morning of January 6, 1776, as he was returning from a visit into the country, Brother Rösler was stricken with sudden death, having "fallen, as he was found, by the roadside, his face imbedded in the snow. His funeral was largely attended, for, because of his fine school, he was respected and loved by old and young."[121]

Brother Grube, Rösler's immediate successor, "soon after Easter, 1776, moved with his wife and daughter into the old *Gemeinhaus*, the home of the village school."[122] Tobias Hirte continued as instructional assistant until August of 1778, when

> . . . he gave up his school service with the boys, which he had administered for the past nine years not without success. In the latter days, however, through familiarity with the soldiers and evidently worldly thinking, he trifled away all the joy, blessing and ability thereto.[123]

From October 4th of that year, Brother Grube alone conducted the school which then comprised "ten boys and nine girls, from here and outwardly."[124] The school which had included female

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115. *Supra*, 83f.
116. Brickenstein, H. A., *op. cit.*, 364.
117. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 30. Juli, 1827.*
118. *Ibid., Memorabilia der ledigen Schwestern, 1775.*
119. *Ibid.*
120. In 1784, a separate school for girls was again opened.
121. A partial Chart Residential, supplementary to the Moravian Graveyard of Lititz, No. 38.
122. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Memorabilia, 1776.*
123. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1778.*
124. *Ibid.*

pupils since the close of the girls' school in 1775, ceased being co-educational in 1784, when a separate school for girls was again created.[125] Brother Grube seems to have been associated with the school until 1790, when, on October 24th, he was succeeded by Brother Francis Lembke.[126] One year later, Brother Andreas Albrecht took over the position vacated by Brother Lembke's transferal to the *Paedagogium* in Nazareth Hall.[127] Albrecht, in turn, was followed by Brother Christian Schropp, organist and teacher, under whose direction the school functioned from 1793 through 1814.[128] During those two decades the establishment of schools by other religious denominations and by private venture, attending the increase and expansion of settlers in Warwick township, made it no longer necessary for the parents in outlying areas to send their children to Lititz.[129] As a consequence, Brother Schropp's school became exclusively a town school for the local boys and seems to have been conducted in the house which was built for him in 1793, the year of his marriage.[130] The regulations of the village school precluded the admission of boys over twelve years of age.[131] The older boys of Lititz were housed and educated in the Brethren's House, in which

> . . . the first floor was divided into four rooms in each of which nine or ten brethren resided; part of the second story consisted of a large hall or chapel for spiritual purposes, which was provided with an excellent organ. The remaining part was divided into dwelling rooms . . . One of the rooms in the second story was set apart for the boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen. The greater part of the third story was occupied as a dormitory where they all slept . . . In each room where the brethren resided, there was one who was called the "overseer," whose duty it was to correct any disorders that might arise, care for fuel, repairs and cleanliness of the room. In the room in which the boys resided, there were generally three overseers, whose duty it was to guard their morals, to guide them in the path of virtue and religion, to go with them to church, and during the winter season, to devote three evenings in the week for instructing them in useful knowledge.[132] These boys were

125. *Ibid., den 11. Oktober, 1784.*

126. *Ibid., den 26. Oktober, 1790.*

127. *Ibid., den 24. Oktober, 1791.*

128. *Ibid., den 2. Januar, 1812.*

129. Mombert, J. I., *loc. cit.*

130. A partial Chart Residential, supplementary to the Moravian Graveyard of Lititz, No. 52. This house was later used for a school by the Messrs. Rickert and Hepp.

131. *Infra*, 102.

> partly employed in the town, and partly in the Brethren's House, in learning various mechanical trades.[133]

Brother Schropp's teaching career of more than two decades in the Lititz *Ortsknabenschule* ended with the year 1814; and to him his successor paid the following tribute:

> . . . He was a most worthy old gentleman who had retained charge of the school for many years, but finally old age and defective eyesight had rendered him incapable of a longer continuance in the situation, leading the parents of the village to desire a young man for his place. His rare virtues will long be remembered by many who enjoyed his instruction, and who, from his precept and example, have become very useful men.[134]

One of Pennsylvania's most successful and popular teachers of the nineteenth century, John Beck, began a half century of distinguished educational service in the Lititz boys' school on January 2, 1815.[135] Autobiographically he wrote:

> I was born at Graceham, Frederick County, Maryland, on the 16th day of June, 1791, and in my sixth year moved, with my parents,[136] to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, into the neighborhood of Mount Joy, whence, after a lapse of two years, we repaired to Lebanon County (Bethel) near the Blue Mountains. There being no schools in that vicinity at that time, my parents determined to send me to Nazareth Hall. At this school I remained until my fifteenth year; I did not leave it as a very bright scholar; whether from lack of capacity, or whether from want of proper training to suit my case, I know not, but the testimonial[137] I received on leaving was an unfavorable one.[138]

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132. John Beck taught five such boys in 1813 (*Infra*, 102). During the winter of 1822, Brothers Christ and Hall taught reading and writing of English and German, and arithmetic on Tuesday and Saturday evenings. (*Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 8. Dezember, 1822.*)
133. Mombert, J. I., *loc. cit.*
134. Beck, John, *Complete Catalogue of the Names of all the Students who have attended the Lititz Academy for Boys, from A.D. 1815 to A.D. 1865, under the direction of Prof. John Beck, to which is appended by particular request, a Valedictory Letter, embracing a brief history of the rise and progress of the institution, as well as of him who founded and managed the same during the lapse of a half century*, 6. (In possession of Dr. Herbert H. Beck who graciously allowed the writer to examine its contents.)
135. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 2. Januar, 1815.*
136. John Beck was the son of Anna Joanna Grube and John Martin Beck, learned Moravian teacher and minister, who came to this country from Switzerland in 1786.
137. Abraham Beck, his son, elucidated this statment as follows: "His teacher, one Hazelius, endorsed this testimonial with this cruel sarcasm:

> *'Gott segne dich in deinen Studia,*
> *Aus dir wird nichts, Hallelujah!'"*

138. Beck, John, *op. cit.*, 3-4.

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The factors in his early life and the contemporary circumstances in Lititz which induced him to become a schoolmaster are interestingly recounted by him in his *Valedictory Letter*, as follows:

> . . . My education (at Nazareth Hall) being found deficient, it was determined by my parents that I should learn a mechanical trade, and my own inclination tended toward that of becoming a Cabinetmaker; but my parents, who desired to place me in the care of a religious and strictly moral man, failing to find one in that occupation whose views in that regard accorded with their own, proposed to me to become the apprentice of a shoemaker, whom they believed worthy of their confidence. I felt much disciplined, but having learned the good lesson of filial obedience at Nazareth Hall, I complied, and accordingly was sent to Lititz, in the year 1805, for that purpose. Here I was more fortunate in acquiring a knowledge of the business than I had been at Nazareth in my educational pursuits, and on the day of my freedom, my master gave me a highly favorable testimony; he pronounced me the best and fastest workman, as well as the most faithful apprentice boy he had ever had in his employ, and in order to testify still further his good feeling toward me, presented me with an elegant suit of clothes, and 50 dollars.
>
> It was but a short time after I had gained my freedom, when I was asked to take charge of the village school at Litiz [*sic*] an offer tendered because of my great fondness of children as well as their partiality toward me. Fond as I was of them, I felt constrained to decline, well aware of the deficiency of my education, and loath to leave a trade which I had mastered so thoroughly. At two successive periods I was again asked to take charge of the school, but refused for reasons stated. In the year 1813, it so happened that there were five apprentice boys in the village, whose masters were bound by indenture to send them for some months to school, but the regulations of the village school at that time precluding the admission of boys over twelve years of age, they called upon me to teach them three evenings in a week, offering me two shillings and sixpence(then the currency) for every session. I consented to make a trial, but the undertaking appeared to me very much as when the blind undertake to lead the blind. Fortunately, for me, I found them on the first evening of our meeting very deficient, and when I realized my ability to teach them something, labor became converted into pleasure; at the expiration of the term, I received much praise from both masters and the boys, who publicly and privately extolled the results of my humble efforts; these reports of my success spread over the whole village and it was once more determined by the citizens to ask me to take charge of the village school; this time, by a letter, signed by all Fathers and Mothers who had sons to send to school. The final conclusion cost me much consideration, from reason already stated. I consulted with a number of my friends, and

> among others also with my former master, who encouraged me to make a trial, saying, 'Who knows to what it may lead; you may possibly become a more useful man than if you remain a shoemaker. As long as you were in my shop, I always thought you were predestined for some other occupation; your great attachment for children, who as you know are constantly clinging around you, led me to think so.' I finally determined to make a trial, and I was accordingly introduced to my future charge, consisting of twenty-two boys, on the end of January, 1815, by the Rev. Andrew Benade, who was then pastor of the Lititz congregation, and under whose care and direction the school stood at that time.[139]

The building in which the young cobbler commenced his career as teacher of the Lititz *Ortsknabenschule* stood on the site of the present Moravian Home on Church Street. Originally, in 1754, it had been built as the smithy of the Brethren's House, but later it served as a potash manufactory.[140] Of this building, then sixty-one years old, and of its crude equipment, John Beck gave the following graphic description:

> . . . The size of this primitive school-house was about 30 by 24 feet, but the room itself was about 24 feet square, and poorly lighted by four small windows, and its roof covered with tiles, the ceiling very low, the inside walls exceedingly rough and dark, and on the one side a fire-place, a receptacle of the blacksmith's bellows in former times; immediately at the entrance there was a small board-constructed corridor, partly to keep the cold out, and in part to serve the boys as a place to hang up their hats; the school apparatus consisted of a flat table about 16 feet in length, the legs of which being tressed, did not stand steadily, but rocked backward and forward through the least movement of the boys, who were seated around it on two long benches. When compared with the school houses of the present day 1865, it was certainly a poor affair, yet when we except the Ladies Seminary, it was at that time the best in Warwick township, the township in which Litiz [*sic*] is located.[141]

Amid those humble surroundings, young Brother Beck, not yet twenty-four years old, set up three objectives to give purpose and direction to his teaching. First, he wished to gain the affection of his pupils who ranged from seven to twelve years of age, of whom "a few were tolerably well advanced, that is, according to the standards by which I, at that time, estimated education,"[142] and all of whom were "German children whom I had

139. *Ibid.*, 4-5.

140. A partial Chart Residential, supplementary to the Moravian Graveyard of Lititz, No. 19.

141. Beck, John, *op. cit.*, 6.

142. *Ibid.*

been requested to teach to speak English, an accomplishment in which their teacher himself was then imperfect.''[143] He determined, secondly, to improve himself academically and pedagogically; and finally, he aimed to instruct the children, ''with energetic faithfulness, in the required branches of English and German, Reading, Spelling and Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, and Grammar.''[144]

Brother Beck's initial salary was two hundred dollars per year.[145] When his patrons engaged him they held out as an inducement that his freedom from school on Saturdays would afford him spare time to make a pair of shoes, and thus increase his meager yearly income from teaching. The versatile John Beck, however, chose other means to earn something for his own advancement and for that of the school:

> Once out of the routine of shoemaking, I never made another pair, but adopted another expedient, that of engraving tombstone epitaphs, which I considered more profitable; and as I had acquired a slight knowledge of painting, I undertook to paint signs and to ornament chairs for a chairmaker.[146]

In order to dissuade him from accepting an offer from the Bethlehem parochial school at three hundred dollars per year, and to induce him to remain in the Lititz school which was then steadily prospering under his conscientious direction, it was proposed, in 1818, to take the Lititz *Ortsknabenschule* out of the hands of the Church authorities and to place it under Brother Beck's personal management.[147]

That the conversion of his humble village school into a boarding school was an eventuality of which Brother Beck had never dreamed, is clear from his account:

> . . . Now it so happened one day in the year 1819, that two gentlemen from Baltimore visited Litiz [*sic*], and when casually passing through the village, met the boys bearing some . . . badges. Attracted by the novel appearance, they stopped the boys and asked an explanation, which the boys promptly gave them, but they did not come to see me in the old shop. On their return to Baltimore, it so happened that a certain Mr. V. [Vinkler], having a son, whom he wished to place somewhere in a school, consulted the aforesaid gentlemen on the subject; they

143. *Ibid.*
144. *Ibid.*
145. *Ibid.*, 7.
146. *Ibid.*
147. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 12. Februar, 1818.*

recommended him to Litiz [*sic*], alleging, from what they had seen, the probable existence of a good school there. Mr. V. at once determined to come to Litiz [*sic*] on a reconnoitering expedition, arrived on a Saturday, and found me engaged in painting, assuredly not in a plight to make a favorable impression on a parent who was seeking a teacher for his son. His first inquiry 'Whether the teacher was here?' having been responded affirmatively, was followed by a second, 'Could I get to see him?' to which I replied, 'I am the person.' 'Well, sire,' said he, 'I have come from Baltimore to see whether you will receive my son as a pupil.' 'My dear sir,' I rejoined, abashed, 'I have no Boarding School. I merely instruct the village boys; you have been misinformed; there is a Ladies' Seminary here, but none for boys.' 'No sir, I have not been misinformed,' said he, 'Your school is highly spoken of in Baltimore, and I have been recommended to you.' 'Why,' said I, in utter astonishment, 'who should know anything there of me and of my school; I have never been there, nor do I know a single person in the city.' He then recounted to me what the two strangers had related to him, expatiating at length upon their strong recommendations of the school, as well as the village. He insisted upon the admission of his son, and I as steadily continued to refuse. After a long conversation upon the subject, he finally said, 'Mr. Beck, think the matter over; I shall meanwhile go to the hotel and dine; will you call there this afternoon for further conversation on the subject?' Upon my arrival at the hotel, he met me at the door, and exclaimed, 'It is needless for you to say no, I have taken a liking to you, and you must receive my son; if you ask $500 a year, I will pay it to you.' Still shrinking from so great a responsibility, I proposed to show him my Academy, hoping that a glance at the old Blacksmith Shop would change his mind—having arrived there, my first remark was, 'This is my Academy, surely you would not fancy your son's admission into so mean a building.' His reply much astonished me: 'You need no better recommendation than this humble building, and the sequestered village about it, where my son may be safely removed from the temptations and perils incident to life in a metropolis.' Hereupon I finally, but reluctantly, agreed to receive his son, who arrived ten days later, accompanied by his mother. I tried my best to persuade her not to leave him here, but she, like Mr. V., at once became equally prepossessed, not only with Litiz [*sic*], but with my humble school-room, remarking, 'in just such a school I want my son to be educated.' After imparting many parental admonitions to her son, she left him in my charge on the 30th of August, 1819, on which day I entered him in the school, cherishing the fond hope that as he was the first, he would be the last one I would receive from abroad.

Little did I imagine on that day, my future destiny to be the educator of many hundred boys, who would be brought to me from nearly all the States in the Union. In God's Providence it has, however, come to pass during the 50 years, as the

> *Catalogue* shows. About four weeks after Master V. had entered, five more came from Baltimore, all sons of highly respectable families.[148] They arrived without preliminary application, and I was much concerned what to do with them, for I was deficient in boarding accommodations; but it nevertheless really appeared as though a Higher Hand had regulated the matter, for family after family in the village offered to receive not only the newcomers, but a number of others, who soon followed; these 5 boys also came on the recommendation of the two gentlemen who had recommended the school to Mr. V.[149]

By 1822, Brother Beck's Academy had increased beyond the capacity of its old building. Accordingly, in the early part of that year, the blacksmith shop was torn down; a new structure was erected on the same site during the summer, and on September 9th was dedicated "to the cause of developing boys into useful and obedient men of God."[150] Classes were first held in the new building on September 22nd.[151] Brother Beck also conducted an evening school for older boys during the winter of 1823-24, and likely during subsequent winters.[152]

Continual accessions of pupils from near and far soon tended to crowd the new academy building. To gain more room for his boys and a much needed diminution of labor for himself, and because "experience has shown that quite young pupils cannot be profitably consorted with those who are older and more advanced," Brother Beck proposed to those parents in the town who had small boys, that a primary school be established.[153] The proposal met with little favor because "such an arrangement was unheard of in these parts in those days."[154] Knowing full well that the additional expense of such a school constituted the chief objection, the magnanimous Brother Beck offered to bear the financial burden himself, and opened a primary school for the twelve boys who were "either too young or too little for the general village boys' school."[155] The widowed Sister Elizabeth Trae-

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148. A manuscript marginal note by Abraham R. Beck reads: "He knew nothing of their coming. Quite unexpectedly to him, the carriage containing these boys stopped before the blacksmith shop while school was in session."
149. Beck, John, *op. cit.*, 8-10.
150. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 9. September, 1822.*
151. Beck, John, *op. cit.*, 10.
152. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 20. November, 1823.*
153. Beck, John, *loc. cit.*
154. *Ibid.*
155. *Ibid.*

ger[156] agreed to take care of the school daily, under Brother Beck's special guidance and help, and a comfortable room was equipped for it in an annex of the former Single Brethren's House.[157] The tuition was set at six dollars a year for each little boy, and the limit of pupils at any one time was set at twenty.[158]

About 1826, Brother Beck had to abandon his school during a spell of ill health, doubtlessly induced by over-exertion. Fortunately, the enforced recess was brief, and with the return of John Beck's health came also his former enthusiasm for the improvement of his school. He felt the want of a playground which his pupils could call their own and in which they could engage in their various youthful sports, both undisturbingly and undisturbedly. In 1830, he secured a plot "about 1¼ acres in size, which required to be graded, a task accomplished by the boys after school hours, who all went to work with pleasure and without bidding."[159]

In 1832, through the accession of Brother John Rickert[160] as assistant teacher, the curriculum was broadened to include high-

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156. Elizabeth Traeger, *nee* Hall, was born in Bethlehem, February 14, 1780. Her husband, John Gottfried Traeger, who had been John Beck's master in the shoemaking trade, had died in 1824.

157. Weitzell, Louise A., "A Lititzite Sees through the Clouds of the Past to a Lititz of Long Ago," *The Express*, Lititz, Pa., March 19, 1926.

158. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 30. Juli, 1827.*

159. Beck, John, *op. cit.*, 11. For a description of the pleasure-grounds, see pp. 465-466.

160. Brother Beck, on p. 12 of his *Valedictory Letter*, gave the following sketch of Mr. Rickert: "He entered my school in 1816, in his 9th year, and soon manifested extraordinary talents, rising rapidly to the foremost rank of all my scholars. At 12 years of age, his father intended to take him from school, unable to afford the expense any longer, and his intuition was to hire him out to some farmer, in whose employ the lad might earn something for him. I deemed it a pity that so bright a boy should be hired out to menial work upon a farm, and offered the father the advantages of my school gratuitously for his son, guaranteeing to provide him with any books he might need. The old gentleman assented to this. In his 14th year, I made him an usher and he assisted me daily, after his own recitations, for about 3 hours in hearing classes. At the age of 15, he left school and after a short attempt at a mechanical trade, which proved prejudicial to his health, he entered a store, where he remained for some time; thence he repaired to Lebanon County to teach school, and finally entered Nazareth Hall as one of the faculty. After remaining in that Institution for several years, he offered his services to me, believing such to be his duty, since I had laid the foundation of his excellent qualifications."

er branches of mathematics and natural science; and the school expanded into a room of the large stone building, the former Brethren's House, the whole of which was later acquired for school purposes.[161] About that time, Brother Beck also engaged Brother Augustus Christ, who for a time assisted him in his room.[162] Of his assistants, Brother Beck said:

> . . . Mr. Rickert died after having been with me 17, and Mr. Christ 27 years. We three teachers labored harmoniously together; the boys were all happy, and through very favorable accounts of their progress, written home by them, more were induced to come, a circumstance that caused me to make still greater extension, so that we not only occupied the new brick building, but also the whole of the large building contiguous thereto.[163]

Soon a third and later a fourth assistant teacher were engaged, and two more rooms in the stone building were opened "so that there should not be so many pupils in the care of each tutor, thus enabling the school to be systematized or graded, and ample justice to be afforded to each pupil. The result of this regulation proved satisfactory, and it has thus remained ever since."[164] Mr. Beck, being the proprietor and principal, received all applicants, assigned them to their proper classes, and directed their studies. He opened school with song and prayer each morning. Of the boarders, he had charge all the time, in and out of school; for the day scholars from the village and neighborhood, who went home in the evenings, he was responsible only while they were in school or on the school grounds.[165] He held classes in penmanship and elocution on several afternoons of every week, conducted scientific experiments with the older boys, and frequently gave individual instruction to newcomers and to retarded pupils to enable them to keep up with their studies.[166]

A visitor to the school in 1844 left the following account:

> . . . At present the school is conducted in 2 buildings in which 5 teachers are employed; the schoolrooms, 5 in number, are large, well ventilated and furnished with every thing that can render pupils comfortable; each pupil has his own desk and chair, and the number admitted into a room never exceeds, at the highest,

161. Beck, John, *op. cit.*, 12.
162. *Ibid.*, 13.
163. *Ibid.*
164. *Ibid.*
165. Eby, S. P., "John Beck, the Eminent Teacher," *Lancaster County Historical Society Publications*, II, 125.
166. *Ibid.*, 127.

> 24. This arrangement is made with the view to enable the teacher of each class, not only to do ample justice to each one in his charge, but also for the preservation of good order, and the separation of the larger boys from the smaller ones. Each room is provided with a time-piece, the walls are adorned with handsomely painted moral lessons, as well as astronomical, historical, mathematical, and geographical charts. The school has extensive philosophical and chemical apparatus and an excellent library . . . The quiet village is very suitable for schools, and particularly for boys, there being no kind of temptations in their way; the great difference between Mr. Beck's method, and that of similar schools, attempted in imitation of his, has always been his sociable and parental intercourse with his pupils, by which means he gains their esteem and affection, and checks the slightest irregularity; the enthusiasm with which he has always been found to enter on his arduous duties, and responsible calling, deserve the highest commendation.[167]

At this period, evening lectures on various scientific subjects were introduced by Brother Beck to the public during the winter season.[168] Each season they were held in one of the schoolrooms until 1850, when the two-story brick structure adjoining the Academy was built, "the lower story of which was used as a Lecture Hall, the upper being reserved for an additional classroom, where German and English might be taught more conveniently."[169]

Of his several early attempts to communicate with other teachers, far and near, to glean bits of wisdom from their educational experiences, John Beck wrote disappointedly:

> . . . for it actually appeared in those days as if each teacher viewed the other with a jealous eye, and as though no sociability could exist among them. I made frequent attempts to visit Educational Institutions, but always found myself an unwelcome visitor. Conventions and Institutes had not inaugurated the present era of sociability and free interchange.[170]

By 1836, happily, a professional interest and sociability among teachers seems largely to have replaced their earlier prejudice and mistrust, for it was then that Josiah Holbrook called a convention of teachers and schoolmen to meet at West Chester, Pennsylvania, on August 18th. Concerning the agenda and highly significant educational outcomes of this professional meeting, Brother Beck wrote as follows:

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167. Rupp, Daniel I., *History of Lancaster County, Pa.*, 319-20.
168. He explained the meteoric shower in 1833 to the neighborhood.
169. Beck, John, *loc. cit.*
170. *Ibid.*, 14. For an interesting instance, see p. 314.

> . . . I was the only one present from Lancaster County, and was chosen President thereof. It continued in session for three days, and was truly a happy meeting, wherein nothing but kindness and good feeling prevailed. We separated, each one pledging himself to establish teachers' associations in his own district, with the purpose of developing greater fraternity. Lancaster County was to be my field of operations. On my return I was so fortunate as to enlist a Mr. Flood, then a teacher in Lancaster, in the cause, and we called a meeting in the papers, without our signatures, inviting all teachers and friends of education to meet in the city of Lancaster on a certain day. The attendance was not large, but all who appeared were of the right mind, and when I laid the subject before them, unanimously approved of it, and a society was formed, called the "Lancaster County Teachers' Lyceum," which thereafter met monthly, and from time to time increased in number. In order to extend its influences still further, and to enlist parents more seriously in the cause of education, I made it my duty to visit various parts of the country, and often addressed large audiences on the subject, both in English and German, and sometimes also delivered lectures on some interesting scientific subject. I also made it my duty, as often as I could spare time, to visit the schools around Litiz [*sic*], with the view of imparting my experience to younger teachers. After some time I found myself a welcome visitor, and soon these and other teachers returned my visits, especially on Saturdays, an interchange which finally conduced to the end that for a number of years my establishment became during the months of August, September and October, a kind of Normal School, and continued thus until the Normal School at Millersville was established.[171]. It was frequently remarked by those who noted my exertions, that I was injuring my own school, for they argued that with the improvement of other schools my own numbers must diminish. My reply invariably was, that without any fear of such a result, I considered it my duty to do so, for the benefit of so glorious a cause. After the Normal School at Millersville was opened (December 2, 1859), I no longer paid any attention to country schools, as ample provision was made for their furtherance.[172]

In spite of the fact that John Beck never solicited any parent for a pupil, nor ever inserted a single advertisement in any newspaper, soliciting patronage, the number of out-of-town pupils in

171. In the summer of 1854 citizens of Lancaster County established Millersville Academy for promising students who had outgrown the neighborhood common schools. Throughout the following summer the Academy was employed as an institute for teachers. By November 1855 the building had been tripled in size to accommodate a normal school. In response to the Normal School Law of 1857, the first normal school in Pennsylvania was established on the site of the present State Teachers' College at Millersville on December 2, 1859.

172. Beck, John, *op. cit.*, 14-15.

the Lititz Academy, so named by the act of incorporation by the Legislature of 1836-37, continued to increase steadily, reaching seventy by 1835.[173] After 1844, all the boys of the age of fifteen years or over, who had until then been boarded in private families in the village, thenceforth were boarded and lodged in the Academy building, under the supervision of Brother and Sister Francis Christ.[174] John Goehle of Baltimore, a victim of scarlet fever, was the only pupil who died at the school.[175] John Beck's continual vigilance over his boys and his repeated instructions and admonitions in regard to their health resulted in little sickness and few accidents, causing the local physician to remark facetiously, "No doctor can expect to make money out of the school-boys so long as Mr. Beck has charge of them."[176] The whole number of pupils who were entrusted to Brother Beck's care during his fifty years of service was 2,326, including representatives from all parts of the United States, Canada, Europe, and the West Indies.[177] During those years he was assisted by fourteen male and nine female teachers.[178]

Although he had risen from cobbler to eminent educator, and had seen his simple village school evolve into one of Pennsylvania's most prominent boarding schools,[179] there was not a word of self-praise in his farewell speech of March 31, 1865, as he retired from his distinguished career in the seventy-fourth year of his busy life.[180] Humbly he spoke:

> . . . I rejoice to know that the greater part of those who have been entrusted to my care, and who are yet in the land of the living, are doing well and fill respectable situations. I do not ascribe this to my own labors, however I may have tried to develop the true qualities of manhood, and to foster the seeds

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173. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 27. Mai, 1835.* Having been duly incorporated, the Lititz Academy was eligible to receive State appropriations under the Act of 1838. (*Laws of Pennsylvania*, 1838, Sec. 4, 333-4.)

174. Beck, John, *op. cit.*, 16.

175. *Ibid.*, 17.

176. *Ibid.*, 18.

177. *Ibid.*

178. *Ibid.*

179. Buehrle, R. K., "Pennsylvania-German Educators," *Pennsylvania-German*, VIII, 580.

180. Upon John Beck's retirement, the Lititz Academy was taken over by two of his former assistants, Ferdinand D. Rickert and George W. Hepp. His son, Abraham Reinke Beck, conducted the "Beck Family School for Boys," also called "Audubon Villa," from 1865 to 1895.

> of religion. No. To God, to Him to whom I have so often commended you, and on whom I have so often called to grant me wisdom and understanding, that I might instruct you aright, to Him be all the glory![181]

Brother Beck's long and useful life ended on February 11, 1873. Two decades later, his grandson, the Honorable James M. Beck, honored his memory by establishing a fund of five hundred dollars to furnish annually the prizes for the John Beck Oratorical Contest. This function took place for the first time on March 28, 1892, as a significant part of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary's contribution to a larger celebration, in Bethlehem, of the tercentenary of the birth of the famous early Moravian bishop and educator, John Amos Comenius.[182] Since that time, "Comenius Day" has been observed annually at the Moravian College and Theological Seminary in Bethlehem, by holding the John Beck Oratorical Contest.

V. Summary

Moravian education in Lititz had its beginning in the school which was opened on May 24, 1748 in the *Gemeinhaus* of the country congregation of Warwick. A decade later, when that *Landgemeine* was merged with the newly-formed church settlement of Lititz, the Warwick schoolhouse was dismantled and removed to the village of Lititz, where it was reopened by Brother Gottfried Rösler as a school for boys and girls from Warwick and other outlying areas. The village school which had been begun in 1764 by John Christopher Francke, and of which Brother Bernhard Adam Grube took charge in 1765, was reorganized as an *Ortsknabenanstalt*. As part of the general Moravian plan to effect greater economy in education, the school in the Warwick *Gemeinhaus* was merged, in 1771, with Brother Grube's *Ortsknabenanstalt*, Brother Rösler assuming charge of the combined institution in the *Gemeinhaus*. Between 1775 and 1784 the school functioned coeducationally since there was no separate girls' school in Lititz during those years. Following Rösler's death in 1776, the town school was taught by Brothers Grube, Francis Lembke, Andreas Albrecht, and Christian Schropp. After the latter had served the school for more than two decades, he was succeeded in 1815 by Brother John Beck under whose capable

181. Beck, John, *op. cit.*, 17.

182. Schwarze, William N., *History of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary*, 211.

direction the simple *Ortsknabenanstalt* evolved into one of Pennsylvania's prominent academies.

Girls' education in Lititz dates from the day school which was opened on August 21, 1766 in the Sisters' House for the town girls, some of whom had attended the school in the early Warwick *Gemeinhaus* before its abandonment in 1764. Three years later, the girls were moved into their new *Anstaltshaus;* but changes in the educational budget of the Moravian Church and the effects of the Revolutionary War caused the school to close in May, 1775. For the ensuing nine years the girls were educated in the village school, the only educational institution in Lititz at that time. By 1784, a separate girls' school was again created, being conducted first in the "Weaver's House," and then in the Sisters' House. In 1794, the school was reorganized as a boarding school or seminary, which, as "Linden Hall," has continued to prosper down to the present.

Chapter V

SCHOOLS OF MORAVIAN TOWN AND COUNTRY CONGREGATIONS

I. The Establishment of *Stadt- und Landgemeinen*

In June of 1742, the one hundred and twenty brethren and sisters who constituted the first church of their denomination in Bethlehem deliberated how they might most effectively labor for the Lord and His kingdom in this country. Their church council resolved to divide the congregation into two portions, one of which was to abide at home and help support the other, which, as a "Pilgrim Congregation," should evangelize and educate a large portion of the Province. On July 15th, ten brethren were selected by the church council to cast out the gospel net in ten different districts of Pennsylvania, which then comprised only the southeastern portion of the state now bearing its name and extended on the west to the Susquehanna River and on the north to the Blue Mountains. Upon these ten itinerants—Leonard Schnell, Gottlieb Petzold, George Kaske, Christopher Heine, Frederick Post, Gottlieb Enter, Joseph Shaw, John Okely, Reinhard Ronner and Philip Meurer—it was enjoined not to interfere with the affairs of other ministers and not to enter into religious controversy, but to attempt to bring the unchurched colonists to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ.[1] Periodically they returned to the administrative headquarters at Bethlehem to report the progress of their evangelistic and educational work among the churchless and schoolless German immigrants, and to receive new fields of labor. Compensation was neither sought nor desired from the hands of those for whom they labored. Their own brethren in the home congregation at Bethlehem and in the patriarchal economy at Nazareth provided the frugal support with which they were content.[2]

At first, private dwellings, barns, school-houses, and humble log churches that existed in the interior of the colony, gave opportunity for their audiences to gather. As the work of the itinerants assumed distinctness and as circles of persons became definitely identified with them, *Stadt- und Landgemeinen*, regular Moravian town and country congregations, were formed in

1. Hamilton, J. Taylor, *A History of the Moravian Church*, 138.
2. *Ibid.*

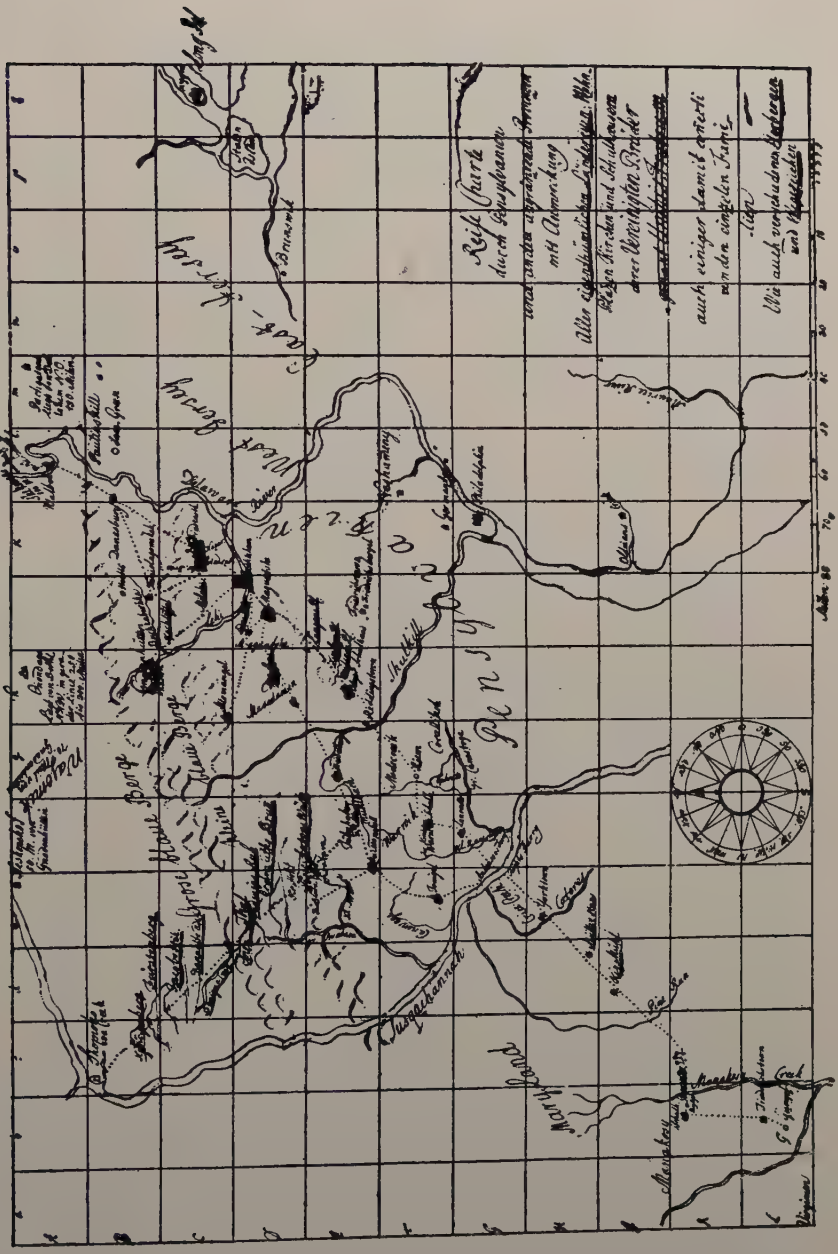
the territory out of which the counties of Berks, Bucks, Carbon, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Monroe, Montgomery, Northampton, Philadelphia and York have since been carved. The erection of a *Gemeinhaus*, or combined church, parsonage and schoolhouse, invariably attended the establishment of a Moravian congregation. The educational needs of the rising generation were never overlooked. It was ever an essential custom of the early Moravians to establish a school wherever they organized a congregation or posted a preaching station. Between 1742 and 1752, when educational facilities were very meager among the colonists of the interior of Pennsylvania,[3] the Brethren established eighteen schools, not only for their own youth but also for the sons and daughters of English and Scotch-Irish settlers, as well as for those of German parents outside the Moravian communion.[4] The day schools and boarding schools of these several *Stadt- und Landgemeinen* were an integral and interesting part of early Moravian education in Pennsylvania, and are herewith described.

II. Berks County

A. The Moravians at Rieth's (Reed's) Church in the Tulpehocken Valley

Although it was the Lutherans who founded the Tulpehocken Church, there was a period in its early history during which the Moravians of Bethlehem exercised dominant, if not exclusive, influence and control in both its church and school affairs. In the spring of 1723, a band of some thirty families of German Lutheran immigrants who had settled in Schoharie, New York, being dissatisfied, decided to migrate into the backwoods of Pennsylvania, and settled on the Tulpehocken Creek near its junction with Mill Creek.[5] It may be assumed that they built a church in that settlement before 1727, since they petitioned the court at Philadelphia, in 1727, "for the laying of a road from their church at the Tulpehocken to the high road at the Quaker meeting-house near Boone's mill."[6] The property was owned by the Lutherans, but the Reformed people held services in the log church, which

3. Spangenberg, Augustus G., "Report to the Authorities in Europe," noted in the "Diary of Marienborn," and translated by Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 104-5.
4. Reincke, Abraham, *A Register of the Members of the Moravian Church*, 73.
5. Schmauk, Theodore E., *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, 440.
6. Maurer, Charles F., *Early Lutheran Education in Pennsylvania*, 57.



(Courtesy of Publication Committee, Moravian Church, Bethlehem)

ITINERANTS' MAP OF MORAVIAN *Stadt- und Landgemeinen*

was built upon a tract of seven or eight acres, donated by the Rieth brothers, "for church, school and burial purposes."[7] It stood on a small knoll northeast of present-day Stouchsburg.

From 1735 until the arrival of the Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg in 1743, Rieth's Church was the center of a religious controversy known in history as "The Tulpehocken Confusion."[8] Count Zinzendorf arrived in Pennsylvania late in 1741, and at one of his religious meetings in 1742 was met by Conrad Weiser and told about the undesirable state of affairs among the Lutheran and Reformed people of the Tulpehocken region. Zinzendorf visited the area, preached at Rieth's Church, "awakened" many souls and won a large number of followers in the Tulpehocken Valley. At the Count's suggestion, Gottlob Büttner was sent from Bethlehem on July 12, 1742, to become pastor of the Tulpehocken Church.[9] In the "Tulpehocken Lutheran Church Records" for July 12, 1742, we read:

> . . . He [Gottlob Büttner] preached for the first time on July 4, and after the sermon, announced to the congregation that Caspar Stoever[10] had been deposed in the religious conference of the Congregation of God in the Spirit, held in Philadelphia on June 3, at which various Lutheran ministers were present; and that we desired to have nothing to do with him because people of that kind are a disgrace to the ministerial office.[11] Büttner also brought along a brother from the Moravian Congregation at Bethlehem, named John Philip Meurer, who was to take charge of the school for boys, instructing them in reading, writing, and in the Christian religion. The school was opened on July 5.

That date—July 5, 1742—marked the beginning of a five-year period of Moravian influence in education in the Tulpehocken Church. When Count Zinzendorf recalled Büttner to Bethlehem, Brother Meurer, who had charge of the school, became pastor of the congregation on September 15, 1742,[12] and Brother John

7. *Ibid.*

8. Croll, Philip C., *Annals of Womelsdorf, Pa., and Community*, 19.

9. Tulpehocken Lutheran Church Records, July 12, 1742.

10. Caspar Stoever headed the pure-Lutheran faction of Rieth's Church which was strongly opposed to the Moravian group in the church.

11. Already on May 15, 1742, the property had been conveyed by a deed to Michael Shaefer, Frederick Shaefer, Leonhard Rieth, Michael Rieth, George Lesch and Herman Walborn, all of the Tulpehocken Creek, for £14, 17s. This placed the Moravian party in control of the church and shut out the Stoever faction. The next year, 1743, the ousted party erected a purely Lutheran church about one mile west of the former edifice and named it Christ Lutheran Church.

12. Tulpehocken Lutheran Church Records, September 15, 1742.

George Harden succeeded him as teacher on December 6th of the same year.[13] Girls were admitted to the school and were placed under the direction of Sister Harden.[14] Brother John Christopher Pyrlaeus went to Tulpehocken in January of 1743, and while assisting the school there with his wife, studied the Mohawk language under the guidance of Conrad Weiser, in whose house they resided.[15] Toward the end of September, 1743, Brother and Sister Harden left Tulpehocken and returned to Bethlehem. Thereafter, Pastor Meurer did the teaching himself until January 29, 1744, when he left the Tulpehocken Church for a short while.[16]

On February 26, 1744, Brother Peter Boehler, school inspector, came from Bethlehem; and at a meeting held at Michael Rieth's house on the next day, the congregation agreed to accept George Nicke as its regular teacher and preacher.[17] At the same meeting, Inspector Boehler presented the following rules for the management of the school:

1. If scholars do not attend regularly and promptly, it is the teacher's duty to look after them and to visit them.
2. The small Catechism of Luther is to be used in the instruction given.
   a. It is to be made plain by the teacher, following the explanation of H. von Thurnstein [Zinzendorf].
   b. Scriptural texts and hymns are to be committed to memory.
   c. The textbook for the study of the language (German) is the primer and reader issued by the University of Jena.
   d. Advanced readers are to use the Bible.
   e. Writing is to be taught.
   f. Reading is to be taught.
   g. As much arithmetic is to be taught as is necessary for a *Plantage-Mann* [farmer].
3. It is the duty of the deacons to visit the schools.
4. Especially should scholars going to and from evening school be well-behaved.
5. If the congregation has a pastor of its own, the chief supervision belongs to him.[18]

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13. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1742.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Levering, J. Mortimer, *History of Bethlehem, Pa., 1741-1892*, 165.
16. Schmauk, Theodore E., *op. cit.*, 516.
17. *Ibid.*, 543.
18. "Rules for Rieth's Church," taken from Schmauk, Theodore E., *op. cit.*, 544.

The old church being dilapidated, a new *Gemeinhaus* was proposed on February 27, 1745, its corner-stone laid on April 1st, and the completed edifice dedicated on the first Sunday of Advent by Bishop Spangenberg, Abraham Reincke and Pastor Meurer.[19] George Nicke served the school until June, 1745, when he was recalled to Bethlehem. When Brother Meurer was also returned to Bethlehem, he was succeeded at Tulpehocken on August 22, 1746, by the Reverend John Drücker, who remained as pastor and schoolmaster until February 12, 1747.[20]

There were two factors which caused the Moravian organization at Tulpehocken to be short-lived. Already in 1745, Brother Spangenberg had organized the Heidelberg Moravian Church, south of the Tulpehocken Creek and seven miles from the old Rieth Church. This new pure-Moravian center attracted many from the Tulpehocken fold. Furthermore, on February 2, 1747, "Leonhard Rieth had fallen under his mill-wheels, was caught in the cog-wheels, and was mangled to death."[21] He had been the pillar of the original church and was one of the six trustees, who, as followers of the line of Moravian pastors, had had the deed of the church and school property made out to secure and perpetuate Moravian influence. His sudden demise gave the deathblow to the Brethren's hold at Tulpehocken.[22] There followed a number of stormy interviews between the Lutherans and the Moravians, with the result that, through the influence of Conrad Weiser and Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the Lutherans took possession of the new "Old Rieth's Church" on September 13, 1747.[23] By 1748, most of the Brethren had retired from Tulpehocken.

B. The Moravian School at North Heidelberg

The early Moravian church which once stood on the grounds of the present-day Union church of North Heidelberg, about five miles north of Robesonia, in Berks County, was an outgrowth of Rieth's Church, located in the Tulpehocken Valley about seven

19. Daniel Miller, "Early Moravian Settlements in Berks County," *The Pennsylvania-German*, X, 71.
20. Schmauk, Theodore E., *loc. cit.*
21. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Stadt- und Landgemeinen, den 2. Februar, 1747.*
22. *Ibid., den 10. Oktober, 1747.*
23. Richards, Henry M. M., "Lebanon County's Distinguished Governor, John Andrew Melchior Shulze," *Lebanon County Historical Society Publications*, VIII, 184.

miles west of Heidelberg.[24] There in that Tulpehocken church the early settlers of Heidelberg received their spiritual fellowship and rudiments of education from 1736 to 1744. During those years, Rieth's Church was the center of dissension and quarrels, first between the Lutheran and Reformed members, later between the Lutheran and Moravian factions within the congregation. Some of the families in and near Heidelberg whose souls had been "awakened" by Count Zinzendorf during his gospel missions in the Tulpehocken Valley in 1742, chose to withdraw from the confused conditions at Rieth's Church and to worship in the simple faith of the Moravian Brethren of Bethlehem. These included the families of Tobias and Frederick Bickel, John Fischer, Frederick Gerhard, Stephen Brecht, and about seven others. In their religious endeavors they were served, until September of 1743, by the Reverend Jacob Lischy whom the authorities at Bethlehem had sent to Heidelberg. In January of 1744, Brother Anton Wagner and his wife, Elizabeth, came to minister to the families in Heidelberg and to teach their children.[25] During Brother Wagner's pastorate, Tobias Bickel, whose home was frequently used as a place of worship by these pious Moravian families, donated two and three-quarter acres of land at the western end of his farm for church, school and burial purposes.[26]

An entry in the accounts of Christian Lower, storekeeper near Womelsdorf, reveals that early in 1744 Tobias Bickel purchased nails "to build a church in Heidelberg."[27] Of log construction, it stood where the sexton's house now stands, next to the North Heidelberg Union Church. It was a typical Moravian *Gemeinhaus,* the first floor containing a schoolroom and the teacher's dwelling, while the second story was used for church purposes.[28] The new structure was solemnly dedicated to religious and educational service on November 4, 1744.[29] On April 9th of the following year, Bishop Augustus G. Spangenberg formally organized the Heidelberg members into a Moravian *Landgemeine,* and

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24. *Supra,* 116ff.

25. Maurer, Charles F., *op. cit.,* 50.

26. Bickel, Paul J., "Tobias Bickel and his Descendants," *Historical Review of Berks County,* IV, 87.

27. Graeff, Arthur D., *Bicentennial of the Union Church of North Heidelberg, 1744-1944,* 4.

28. Jones, A. S., "Moravians in Berks County," *Scrapbook No. 4 of the Berks County Historical Society,* 215.

29. Albright, Raymond, W., *Two Centuries of Reading, Pa., 1748-1948,* 8.

it continued to be an active Moravian center for about twenty-five years.[30]

The school must have opened sometime in 1744, for the entry of December 11, 1752 of "Brother Bader's Diary of his Journey and Visit to Country Schools" states that the Heidelberg school was running quite smoothly "since they have already had school there for eight years."[31] Brother Anton Wagner during whose pastorate the *Gemeinhaus* was built, and his wife, Elizabeth, were the first teachers. Brother Wagner was affiliated with the Heidelberg school at various intervals and for extended periods, which, according to scattered entries in the *Diarium der Gemeine zu Bethlehem,* seem approximately to have been from 1744 to 1746, from 1753 to 1763, and from 1771 to 1779. The school was also taught by Brother and Sister Daniel Neubert, 1744; Brother George Neisser, 1746; Brother and Sister Henry Beck, 1749; Brother and Sister Matthew Reuz, 1751; Brother and Sister Gattermeier, 1751; Brother and Sister John Müller, 1752; Brother Christian Schwarz, 1757; Brother and Sister Gottfried Rösler, 1764; Brother and Sister Unger, 1778; Brother and Sister Reizenbach, 1779; Brother and Sister Sensemann, 1786; Brother and Sister Ellert Coortsen, 1792; Brother Thomas Schnell, 1795; and Brother Nicholas Höber, 1798.

Brother Bader's supervisory tour among country schools took him to Heidelberg on December 8, 1752, and in his diary of that trip he made the following informative entries:

> December 11. The children came to school bright and early. They are so anxious to come that they run away from their parents and none ever wishes to stay at home, so that many a parent who has an infant and has no one at home to help, is bad off. The number in school is 40. They are truly fine children whom it will not be hard to love. Their simplicity and lack of affectation are a joy to my heart . . .
>
> December 12. . . . The number of pupils increases daily . . .
>
> December 14. Br. John Müller held school to my delight and to that of the pupils. Those children who for some reason or other are obliged to stay at home, try to offer money to exchange places with those who are fortunate enough to be privileged to go to school. That shows how anxious they all are to attend Brother Müller's school.
>
> December 21. Once again I resumed my discussions on the Jena

30. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 13. Februar, 1773.*

31. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Bruder Baders Diarium seiner Reise und Besuch deren Schulen im Lande vom 16. November, 1752 bis zum 28. Februar, 1753; den 11. Dezember, 1752.*

> method of instruction with Br. and Sr. John Müller. Then I took leave of them, of the school-children who begged me to stay with them for five years, and of their parents who wanted me to spend the coming holidays with them . . . [32]

Although the school was conducted and supported by the Moravian Church, children of non-Moravian parents were permitted to attend.[33] Under the direction of Brother Christian Schwarz, writing classes were held for older boys on Tuesday afternoons and for older girls on Wednesdays.[34] An evening class in English, mostly for adults, was conducted by Brother Sensemann in 1786.[35]

Already in 1773, the Provincial Helpers' Conference lamented that "several of the country congregations were declining—Heidelberg, Bethel and Mountjoy."[36] By 1788,the Moravian congregation at Heidelberg had declined to the extent that "a couple of workers could hardly be maintained there,"[37] and the school was closed. The authorities at Bethlehem, however, were reluctant to have their school at Heidelberg permanently abandoned, and at a meeting of the Provincial Helpers' Conference it was proposed that "Heidelberg should have a brother who could teach school, and, who in addition, could practice a trade in order to support himself."[38] The school was opened again by Brother and Sister Ellert Coortsen in 1792, and it grew to an enrollment of twenty-five pupils.[39] When the Coortsens were transferred to Lititz in 1795, they were replaced in Heidelberg by Brother Thomas Schnell.[40] In 1798, the latter was replaced by Brother Nicholas Höber "who, for his support, had to express his willingness to work at his trade in addition to his teaching the school which was held only in the winter."[41]

By 1800, the school had passed out of existence, and the "die-hard" spirit of the Provincial Helpers' Conference at Bethlehem was reduced to a willingness to consider Heidelberg as a "filial" of their congregation at Lititz,[42] and to rent the Heidelberg

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32. *Ibid., vom 11. bis zum 21. Dezember, 1752.* For an explanation of of the "Jena Method" mentioned here, see pp. 302-313.
33. *Ibid., den 25, Januar, 1758.*
34. *Ibid., Heidelberg, den 15. Januar, 1758.*
35. *Ibid., Memorabilia, Januar, 1786.*
36. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 13. Februar, 1773.*
37. *Ibid., den 18. November, 1788.*
38. *Ibid., den 4. März, 1791.*
39. *Diarium der Gemeine zu Lititz, Heidelberg, 1792.*
40. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 8. September 1795.*
41. *Ibid., den 19. Oktober, 1798.*
42. *Conferenz der Arbeiter der Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Lititz den 7. und 8. Mai, 1799.*

Gemeinhaus.[43] By 1816, the latter came to be badly in need of repairs and in danger of disintegration. Since the remnant of the Brethren's congregation was too small to sustain the cost of renovation, the Moravians agreed to deed the building and its land to the Reformed Church in payment for the necessary repairs and with the understanding that the renovated *Gemeinhaus* be a union church for both denominations.[44] The congregational records include Moravian burials as late as 1822.[45] By 1831, Moravianism at Heidelberg had given way completely to the Lutheran and Reformed congregations.[46] The *Gemeinhaus* was demolished in 1862; but local residents still refer to the sexton's house as *das Schulhaus,* presumably because it occupies the same spot and in its construction some of the original logs and foundation stones were used.

C. Oley

1. The First Moravian School in Oley, 1745-1751

Although the people of Oley had heard the preaching of several Moravians—Spangenberg in 1737, Eschenbach in 1740, Zinzendorf in 1741, and others—it was not until the Synodal meeting at John de Turck's house in January of 1742 that an attempt was made to organize the followers of these preachers into a Moravian congregation.[47] This meeting made a deep impression in favor of the Moravians and led to the erection of a *Gemeinhaus,* about 1743, on a tract of sixteen acres donated by John Diedrich Youngman,[48] who had received a patent for the land from the Penns in 1735.[49]

This *Gemeinhaus* was a two-and-a-half-story structure, about forty-one feet square. The spaces between the massive, hand-hewn logs were filled with mortar of clay, straw and lime. The ground floor contained living quarters for the teacher and preach-

43. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 5. Mai, 1801.*
44. *Ibid., den 2. April, 1816.*
45. Graeff, Arthur D., *op. cit.,* 5.
46. Miller, Daniel, *op. cit.,* 69.
47. Miller, Daniel, *op. cit.,* 27.
48. A Brief of Title on record in the Recorder's Office in Reading, Pa., states that George Jungman conveyed the land to the Rev. Henry Antes, who later conveyed it to John Okely, scrivener and conveyancer of the Moravians. Subsequently this land was conveyed to Bishop Nitschmann.
49. Jones, A. S., "Old Time School Teachers," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Berks County,* I, 2.

er; the schoolrooms and the church were on the second floor; the attic accommodated the sleeping rooms. There was a small cellar about one-fourth of the size of the building. The *Gemeinhaus* had a unique and efficient heating system. In the center of the structure arose two immense chimneys, each seven and a half feet wide and three feet thick, with a hall between them. Each chimney had a fireplace on the first and second floors facing each other. These large, stone fireplaces were constructed with an opening into each classroom, but could be tended from a hallway without disturbing the classes.[50] They were also the means by which the cooking was done for the school family of over fifty persons.

(Courtesy of Moravian Historical Society)

The First Moravian School at Oley

The *Gemeinhaus*, begun in 1743, was not entirely completed until April of 1745.[51] The school was opened toward the end of November of that year, shortly after "the brethren and sisters in Oley who wished to send their children to school met with Brother and Sister Wolfgang Michler and with Brother and Sis-

50. Howland, Garth A., "Reconstructional Problems Associated with the Moravian Buildings in Bethlehem," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XIII, 203.

51. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 14. April, 1745.*

ter Robert Hussey, to talk over all the details.''[52] Brother John Leinbach was appointed steward, having charge of the ''external management of the school.''[53] For the first two years, all admissions were local boys and girls.[54] It had become a boarding school by February 22, 1748, when ''eleven boys[55] from the Germantown school[56] were transferred to Oley, and in a few days were as fully adjusted to their new school as if they had always attended it.''[57] Brother and Sister Höpfner and Brother and Sister Hussey conducted the school in 1748.[58] In 1749, the thirty-seven pupils of the school were taught by Brother and Sister Heyne and Brother Hobsch.[59] When Henry Antes' estrangement from the Moravians caused the dissolution of the school at Fredericks-town in September of 1750,[60] seventeen of the boys were transferred to the school at Oley.[61] About that time, Brother and Sister Francke took charge of the school,[62] assisted by two single brethren, Jacob Hermann and Peter Brown.[63] The following year Brother and Sister Werner were added to the faculty of the school.[64]

Financial strain in the summer of 1751[65] caused the authorities at Bethlehem to decide to merge the Oley school with the one in Maguntsche (Emmaus).[66] It was further decreed that the boys should be segregated from the girls, by transferring the Oley boys to the Maguntsche school, and by moving the girls of this latter school and four from Oley to the adjunct of the Bethlehem

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52. *Ibid., den 21. November, 1745.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, Entries for November 30, 1745; December 2, 1745; December 15, 1745; September 25, 1746; June 1, 1747.
55. One of these was Benjamin Crocker, nephew of Benjamin Franklin, according to the "Diary of the First Moravian Church of Philadelphia," February 5-6, 1748.
56. This was the Moravian School conducted in John Bechtel's house which existed from September of 1746 to May of 1749. *Infra*, 171ff.
57. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 27. Februar, 1748.*
58. *Ibid., Personalia von Bruder Höpfner, 1761.*
59. *Ibid., den 4. März, 1749; den 2. November, 1749.*
60. *Infra*, 165.
61. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 23. August, 1750.*
62. *Ibid., den 19. August, 1750.*
63. *Ibid., den 22. Dezember, 1750.*
64. *Ibid., den 25. Mai, 1751.*
65. *Ibid., den 27. August, 1751.*
66. *Ibid., den 17. Juli, 1751.*

Girls' Boarding School in the Ysselstein House on the south side of the Lehigh;[67] four others from Oley were placed directly in the Girls' Boarding School in Bethlehem.[68] These transfers, made by wagon, took place on September 10, 1751, when the Oley Boarding School was closed.[69]

2. A Second Moravian School at Oley, 1753-1770

According to a memorandum in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem in the handwriting of Spangenberg, dated May 8, 1755, the property of the Moravian church in Oley consisted of "a house on rising ground close by a spring and near the church and former school-house." This new house, he explains, contained "six rooms and a large hall, and a dining-room in addition." It was built by Heinrich Leinbach, who spent more than £100 of his own on it besides giving his labor; and for all of it he gave the church a receipt in full.[70] The "new house" to which Spangenberg refers was probably built in 1748, when additional space was needed for the boys who were transferred from the Germantown school[71] and for other boarding pupils. It became the home of Oley's second Moravian school which was begun at the beginning of 1753[72] by Brother and Sister Michler.[73] The latter was visited and instructed in pedagogy between February 6th and 14th of that year by Brother Philip Bader, whose diary states:

> February 6: Left Muddy Creek, accompanied by Father Riehm as far as the Schuylkill. After a visit in Reading(town), I continued my journey to Oley. I arrived at nightfall, and found awaiting me some welcome letters from Bethlehem, which Br. Michler had brought from there only a quarter-hour earlier. We had a conference on school matters, discussing the most important problems at hand; also the methods and organization which are generally practiced and approved in the schools of our country congregations.
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> February 7: Br. Michler went around to the homes of the

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67. *Ibid., den 12. August, 1751.*
68. *Ibid., den 15. September, 1751.*
69. *Ibid., den 14. September, 1751.*
70. Hamilton, J. Taylor, "The Moravian Work at Oley, Berks County, Penna.," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XIII, 16.
71. *Supra*, 126.
72. Miller, Daniel, *op. cit.*, 30.
73. Apparently Oley had been without a school between September, 1751 and January, 1753.

brethren of his congregation, made my arrival known to them, and asked them not to keep their children away from school. Meanwhile, I conducted the school according to the accepted Jena method.[74] In the morning class there were 6 boys, and just as many girls attended the afternoon class. The children were in a receptive mood and very happy.

February 8: I conducted the school in Br. Michler's presence. This seems to be the smallest of all the country congregation schools; the number of children is never greater than 15.

February 10: At one o'clock in the afternoon we had our children's singing-hour, and felt that the Lord was in our midst.

February 12: Br. Michler conducted school in my presence. Things are going nicely, and he fares well with the Jena method.

February 13: Br. Michler again conducted school in my presence. As is always my practice, I discussed faithfully with him the practices that I had observed in his teaching.

February 14: The school is going along in good order. In the afternoon, Br. Michler and I went visiting among the congregation. All of our brethren were happy and reported that their children talked of little else but their love for their school.[75]

The Michlers were succeeded in Oley by Brother and Sister John Schneider.[76] Under the direction of Brother and Sister Henry Beck, in 1754, the school was attended by twenty-three children.[77] During the tutelage of Brother and Sister John Henry Moeller (Müller), from 1755 to 1759, several boarding pupils were enrolled.[78] Five new boarders were received in December of 1758.[79] Children of non-Moravians were also admitted,[80] and in 1759, there were nineteen such children in the school.[81] In July of 1759, Brother and Sister George Neisser came to Oley, but served also the congregations of Allemaengel and Maguntsche.[82] Brother Neisser's poor health required him to return to Bethlehem in July, 1751, and until the arrival of Brother and Sister Wolfgang Michler on March 16, 1762, there was no one to conduct the Oley School.[83] Brother Michler was expected to work

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74. *Infra*, 302ff.
75. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Bruder Baders Diarium seiner Reise und Besuch derer Schulen im Lande vom 16. November, 1752, bis zum 28. Februar, 1753; den 6. bis zum 14. Februar, 1753.*
76. *Ibid., den 18. April, 1753.*
77. *Ibid., Relation von einem Kinder-Besuch der Geschwister Ettweins in Oley und Maguntsche, 1754.*
78. *Ibid., Diarium der Stadt- und Landgemeinen, den 21. Oktober, 1757.*
79. *Ibid., den 4. Dezember, 1758.*
80. *Ibid., Diarium der Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Februar, 1760.*
81. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1759.*
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1761.*

at his weaving trade in addition to his teaching and preaching. The last of the teachers of the second Oley school was George Pitschmann who served it from April, 1764 to its end in 1770.

3. *Das Herrnhuter Schulhaus, 1776-1873*

In 1776, John de Turk willed two acres of land for school purposes, and Samuel Hoch donated one acre adjoining for the same purpose. These two bequests were made to John Okely of Bethlehem, the real estate agent of the Moravians, "for a school for lads and misses."[84] On October 6, 1776, Okely conveyed both tracts, three acres in all, to Daniel Hoch, "for a school for the education of youth of both sexes." In each transfer there was a nominal consideration of five shillings.[85]

Upon this ground the said Daniel Hoch and others erected a schoolhouse in the same year, 1776. It was a small log building to which a stone addition was made later. A school, commonly called *Das Herrnhuter-Schulhaus* was established and maintained during many years under various auspices, even down to 1873.[86] For a long time it was maintained under the fostering care of the "Moravian School Association of Berks County" which had been created for this purpose by the Legislature of Pennsylvania in its session of 1837-38. From 1850 to 1872 the property was leased to the Oley township for school purposes at the yearly rental of forty dollars.[87] In the course of time the Association named became extinct. The last teacher was Mr. U. E. Merkel, of Reading, who instructed nineteen pupils during three months in 1873.

In 1870, the Legislature passed an act appointing Daniel Wiest, Jacob Hoch, and Nathan DeTurk trustees of the "Moravian School Association of Berks County," and authorizing them to sell the school property and to pay the money realized therefrom to the Oley Academy which had been started in 1857 with forty students.[88] In case the Oley Academy should be discontinued, the money was to be paid to the Oley school district; but at a meeting of thirty citizens, twenty-eight voted against selling the property, and thus the provisions were not carried out. In 1878,

84. Kemp, A. F., "Early Schools in Berks County," *Historical Review of Berks County*, XI, 70.

85. Miller, Daniel, *loc. cit.*

86. Kemp, A. F., *op. cit.*, 2.

87. Meyers, Elizabeth, "The Oley School," *Bethlehem Globe Times*, August 17, 1928.

88. Miller, Daniel, *loc. cit.*

the old schoolhouse was demolished and a frame dwelling erected in its place.[89]

III. Bucks County

A. The Reform School for Boys at the Long (Great) Swamp

It was decided on July 4, 1746, by the Provincial Helpers' Conference, to open a school for boys in the "Long Swamp," also called the "Great Swamp," in Milford Township, Bucks County.[90] It was domiciled in the vacant house of Joseph Mueller who had accompanied Count Zinzendorf to Europe, where among other things, he studied medicine with a view to future practice in Pennsylvania.[91] His premises at that time were in charge of Heinrich Antes. The school was started the first week of November, 1746, for "boys who had learned bad habits and whom it was not desirable to have with those in other institutions."[92] Brother Abraham Bünninger and Brother and Sister Jacob Wetter were the teachers in charge of this early reform school.[93] Its maintenance there being encumbered "with external rather than internal difficulties,"[94] it was transferred on May 24, 1747[95] to the Ysselstein farmhouse, south of the Lehigh at Bethlehem, an agreement for the purchase of this property for Bethlehem having been made the previous year, by Antes, with the second husband of the widow Ysselstein, Abraham Boemper.[96]

IV. Carbon County

A. The Moravian Mission School at Gnadenhütten

In 1769, Brother John Ettwein proposed the reoccupation of the tract of the earlier Gnadenhütten mission on the Mahoning Creek in Carbon County which had been destroyed by Indian

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89. *Ibid.*

90. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *A History of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies*, 24.

91. While located in Friedensthal in 1752, he served as medical attendant at the nursery in the Whitefield House at Nazareth.

92. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 208.

93. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 22. Februar, 1746; den 24. Mai, 1747.*

94. *Ibid., den 22. Februar, 1746.*

95. *Ibid., den 24. Mai, 1747.*

96. This was the first school in what is now South Bethlehem. Because David Boehringer and others occupied it jointly for a season, it is referred to by some writers as the "Boehringer House."

massacre and conflagration in 1755.[97] As a result, in 1770, the few remaining members of the disbanding Allemaengel congregation[98] in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, together with Moravian emigrants from Duchess County, New York, established a second Gnadenhütten settlement.[99]

Although it remained a very small congregation until about 1800, it maintained a school, at least periodically, for its children. In 1785, Brother Möhring "was conducting a school during the winter and holding weekly children's services, and in all of these enterprises, was experiencing Divine guidance and grace."[100] He gave religious instruction to his pupils every other week during the summer months when the regular school was closed.[101] In 1786 there were twelve pupils enrolled. The school seems not to have had permanent quarters until 1796, when "Brother Biebinghausen's old house was renovated for the use of a schoolhouse, for which Mr. Jacob Weiss donated 500 feet of lumber."[102] On November 16th following, "Brother Towle began his school with some thirty pupils."[103] In 1799, the school was discontinued by Brother George Schmidt "because the children lived in farflung directions and could not get to school."[104]

Apparently no school was held at Gnadenhütten for about six years, until Brother John Caspar Freytag and his wife, Hannah, were sent to minister to the remnant of the congregation on the Mahoning in November of 1805.[105] Under the direction of this "comparatively young man, of buoyant spirits and vigorous health, who had entered upon his duties as minister, school-teacher and husbandman, with zeal and ardor,"[106] the school grew from an attendance of two in 1805 to thirty in 1806, the greater part of the pupils being children of the German neighbors.[107]

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97. *Infra*, 199f.
98. *Infra*, 153ff.
99. Reincke, Abraham, *op. cit.*, 209.
100. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Gnadenhütten, von Januar bis Juni. 1785.*
101. *Ibid., Gnadenhütten, 1786.*
102. *Ibid., den 6. Oktober, 1796.*
103. *Ibid., den 16. November, 1796.*
104. *Protocoll der Conferenz der Arbeiter der Stadt- und Landgemeinen in Lititz, den 7. und 8. Mai, 1799.*
105. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 4. November, 1805.*
106. Rau, Robert, "Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, II, 413.
107. *Ibid.*

A new school building was erected in 1820. It was of log construction, one story high, and contained two rooms, one for school and the other for church purposes.[108] It appears that previous to 1822 there were no schools in what now comprises Franklin township of Carbon County. Prior to that year, the children of that township attended the school kept by the Moravians at Gnadenhütten.[109] The log schoolhouse was controlled by a board of trustees belonging to the church, and school was conducted there during the winter months until 1840, when the public school system was accepted by Mahoning township.[110]

V. Lancaster County

A. The Moravian School in the City of Lancaster

In December, 1742, Zinzendorf preached to a large audience in the Lancaster courthouse; and there it was that George Klein, who despite a prejudice he entertained against the Count had followed him from Warwick to Lancaster, was not only greatly affected by what he heard but was also moved to join others in requesting him to supply their neighborhood with the Gospel ministry.[111] This the Count promised to do, and accordingly, Jacob Lischy in 1743, and the Reverend Lawrence T. Nyberg in 1745, were sent to care for the Moravian followers in Lancaster.

In 1746, after dissensions had caused a cleavage between the Lutheran and Moravian factions in the Trinity Lutheran Church, the Brethren built a little stone church of their own and dedicated it on St. Andrew's Day, November 30, 1746.[112] A house nearby was occupied at the same time as a school and as a dwelling for the teacher and preacher.[113] The opening of this school, which took place on April 1, 1747 with sixty-five children,[114] is described in the "Bethlehem Diary" as follows:

> . . . Br. Cammerhof went to Lancaster from Muddy Creek. He

108. Wagner, A. E., *History Government and Geography of Carbon County, Pa.*, 132.

109. Matthews, Alfred, and Hungerford, Austin N., *History of the Counties of Lehigh and Carbon*, 725.

110. *Ibid.*, 734.

111. Reincke, Abraham, *op. cit.*, 101.

112. Hark, J. Max, "The Old Church," *Pennsylvania Scrapbook, Lancaster County*, L, 3.

113. *Ibid.*

114. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Lebenslauf von Bruder George Nixdorf, 1785.*

found Br. and Sr. Nixdorf and Br. Gottschalk very busy and happy with their school.

The school in Lancaster is quite new but is progressing nicely. When Br. Christian Rauch returned from the Synod, he summoned together the parents of all the children in the neighborhood, and explained carefully to them the principles of the Moravian congregation and the conditions under which we would and could admit children in the future. They received these instructions gratefully and gave the congregation complete freedom to act according to its principles. Soon thereafter Br. Gottschalk was sent to Lancaster as Br. Nixdorf's assistant. Then they called the children together and explained to them, in the presence of their parents, just what would be expected of them in the matter of deportment. This made a deep impression on all the children as well as on their parents. Thereupon our Brn. Nixdorf and Gottschalk opened their school. For the first week they taught the older pupils in the morning and the younger children in the afternoon. When the desired results were achieved in each group, they were merged into a single unit. The school is going along very smoothly and encouragingly, and one can definitely feel the Lord's presence there. The boys and girls are fond of their teachers and are very anxious to attend school. They can hardly wait for school to open in the morning! Br. and Sr. Nixdorf are especially loved and respected by everyone in Lancaster. His recent illness was a great anxiety for his many friends.[115]

Brother Leonard Schnell and Brother Richard Utley served the school in 1748. By 1749 the school seems to have outgrown its narrow quarters with an enrollment of twenty-seven boys and twenty-nine girls. The manuscript of Brother Abraham Reincke, pastor at Lancaster from February 15, 1749 to November 8, 1750 relates:

. . . In the evening, after Brother Antes had conducted a song service in the schoolhouse, we held a blessed and precious love feast with all the members thus far received here, of whom, including ourselves, Nixdorfs, and Peter Brown, there are now 29. Among other matters, the necessity of building a schoolhouse here in Lancaster was spoken of. All seemed favorably inclined and specially interested, and resolved to build it large enough, and to make the hall as large as the one at Bethlehem. It was also proposed to make every preparation therefore during the winter, so that by spring the work can at once be commenced. Br. Antes promised to aid with his counsel, and also to procure permission from the Governor [Hamilton] to take the needed stones from the city lands. Our Bethlehem Brethren viewed three sites upon which the house might be erected, the lots of Koch, Ganter, and Matthew Young. The last, which is ours by bequest from Matthew Young, pleased them most. It is located

115. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 29. Mai, 1747.*

> behind the church, and the front of the house would be on the alley.[116]

Henry Antes not only procured the stones for the building, but it was also he who a week later sent from Bethlehem a draft which he had made of the proposed new structure and its site "... on the Alley near Br. Smout's lot, yet so that the house shall stand back as far as the church does, and so have the house and the church face the alley in a straight line."[117] This plan was adopted on December 9, 1749.[118] On December 1st, at a love-feast over which Brother Rauch of Lititz presided, it had been announced that "everyone who in his heart felt moved by the Saviour to contribute toward the *Gemeinhaus* should have permission to do so."[119] As a result of that invitation, a meeting of male members was held on December 10th, at which each one subscribed his sum. The total was 202 pounds sterling, or about $1,000.[120]

On New Year's Day, 1750, it was formally resolved at a meeting of male members "to begin the erection of a parsonage and schoolhouse in the name of the Saviour; and to make the house 56 feet long and 36 feet wide."[121] Henry Antes, Lawrence Nyberg and Abraham Reincke were chosen as trustees.[122] John Graff, Marcus Young and Leonhard Bender were appointed a building committee.[123] The corner-stone of the *Gemeinhaus* was laid on April 17th, and the occasion of its setting is described in Brother Reincke's "Diary," as follows:

> ... We had the men come together in the schoolhouse, and read to them the inscription we intended to deposit in the corner-stone, which had been signed by John Graff, Michael Kraemer, Peter Ganter, Leonhard Bender and John Ebermann. Then we went into the church together, where we meditated upon our Lamb as the chief Corner-stone, elect and precious; after that we went out and surrounded the place whereon the house

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116. *Diarium d. G. z. Lancaster, den 13. November, 1749.*

117. Hark, J. Max, "The Beginnings of the Moravian Church in Lancaster, Pa." *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XI, 181.

118. *Ibid.*

119. *Ibid.*

120. *Ibid.*, 182.

121. Hark, J. Max, "The Old Church," *Pennsylvania Scrapbook, Lancaster County*, L, 3.

122. *Ibid.*

123. Hark, J. Max, "The Beginnings of the Moravian Church in Lancaster, Pa.," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XI, 182.

is to be built. After Br. Rauch had repeated some appropriate verses, which we then sang together amid a specially blessed manifestation of grace, I deposited the inscription in the corner-stone; whereupon Rauch, Nixdorf, and I placed the stone; I stepped upon it and prayed to the Lamb in behalf of the building and of the entire church which He will gather here in Lancaster unto Himself. Our hearts grew tenderly warm within us. Thereupon Rauch sang some more verses, and we closed with the words:

'Father and Mother and dearest Man,
Be ye honored by this plan.'

We separated right joyously, and were grateful that we were able to transact this matter so pleasantly and in such blessed quiet, for no one but our own people knew anything of it, and although several others were attracted by the singing, yet they had scarcely arrived before the whole thing was over. Immediately afterward the corner-stone was securely fixed in its place.[124]

On April 23rd, "ten Moravian brethren from Warwick and five other friends with eight wagons, arrived in Lancaster; they worked diligently for two days, hauling ninety-four loads of the finest stones from a quarry on the city lands."[125] The *Gemeinhaus* was dedicated on Thursday, September 27, 1750, with a series of festivities which lasted from a Holy Communion service in the morning to a lovefeast for the school-children at four o'clock in the afternoon. The entry for January 4, 1751 in the "Bethlehem Diary" states that "Brother Neisser and Brother Nixdorf are now settled comfortably in their new *Gemein- und Schulhaus* in Lancaster, and the school is running its blessed and happy course."[126]

Brother Bader visited the school on January 17-18, 1753, reported that forty-eight children were in attendance, and remarked that "one could see that the school had once been allowed to sink into a rather poor condition, but that it was again well on the way to good order through the faithful and energetic service of Brother and Sister Neisser."[127] Brother Oerter, who began teaching the school in April of 1753, is described by Brother Bader on the latter's second visit to Lancaster, March 22-30, 1754, as follows:

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124. *Diarium d. G. z. Lancaster, den 17. April, 1750.*
125. Coldren, Caroline A., "Religious Life in Lancaster Borough," *Lancaster County Historical Society Publications*, XLV, 138.
126. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 4. Januar, 1751.*
127. *Ibid., Bruder Baders Diarium von seiner Reise und Besuch derer Schulen im Lande vom 16. November, 1752 zum 28. 1753, den 17.-18. Januar, 1753.*

BRETHREN'S CHURCH & PARSONAGE AT LANCASTER.

> . . . I must admit that this school causes me no end of astonishment. It is hard to believe that Bro. Oerter now conducts his school entirely in accordance with the Jena method[128] introduced into all country schools, while heretofore he was indifferent to it; in fact, I found a school diametrically opposed to and completely different from the one I had known before. Here, just as in Monocacy, I became more fully convinced that the reason for a poor and ineffectual school is not to be sought in the children as much as it is in those who deal with the children. The main issue is the method which is used in the teaching and treatment of pupils. Our dear Br. Oerter has no need for the rod, nor for reproach, etc. He and his [wife] Anna go about in their school like priests, and quietly discipline the pupils with very few words, using an occasional gesture or facial expression. They carry this out with great care and faithfulness. It all seems to the children like a welcome breath of clean, fresh air. For these reasons Br. and Sr. Oerter are dearly loved and highly respected by their pupils. The former, in turn, reap their benefits from the situation, as can be clearly seen in many instances. Some of the pupils are bad; but others are very good, lovable children in whom there exists a really beautiful spirit.[129]

Previous to October of 1760, the boys' school was held in the morning and the girls' in the afternoon. Beginning October 20, 1760, each sex had a full day of school. Brother and Sister Nixdorf conducted the girls' classes both morning and afternoon; Brother Bader conducted the same for the boys.[130] During the second incumbency of Brother and Sister Christian Russmeyer[131] in 1762, there were over fifty pupils in the school.[132] On June 9th of that year, Sister Russmeyer began "a sewing class and a writing class with several girls."[133] The Nixdorfs returned to Lancaster for a second time on November 14, 1768 and there assisted Brother and Sister Otto Krogstrup until January 16, 1775, when they were replaced by Brother and Sister Anton Wagner.

Competition with parochial schools of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Lancaster and with local schools of private enterprise, and the increased difficulty in supplying brethren proficient enough in the English language when that language

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128. *Infra*, 302ff.
129. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Kurzgefasste Relation von Bruder Baders abermaligen Schul-Visitation im Lande vom 25. Februar zum 20. April, 1754; den 22.-30. März, 1754.*
130. *Ibid., Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Oktober, 1760.*
131. They had served there from 1756 to 1758.
132. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Juni, 1762.*
133. *Ibid.*

replaced the German in the school,[134] seem to have caused the Lancaster school to decline soon after 1800. It appears to have ceased to function as a congregational school before 1822, when the following advertisement was placed in the *Lancaster Intelligencer*, announcing a "new" school under the private management of one Peter Rixecker [*sic*], a Moravian:

> The Subscriber, being desirous of opening a School, by permission, at the Moravian Parsonage in this city, or against the 18th day of November, begs leave to announce his intentions to a generous and enlightened Public.
>
> He will teach Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, in both the English and German Languages; and, if desired, Geography and English Grammar.
>
> Parents and others, desirous of entrusting Children to his care, may learn the terms of Tuition, by applying to the Rev. Mr. Reinke.
>
> If he meet with encouragement, he also purposes to give private Lessons in Music, which will be a separate consideration.
>
> Oct. 26. Peter Rixecker.[135]

In 1830, Brother George Felter from Bethlehem took charge of the school.[136] The school, either under individual or church management, was still operating in 1836, when Samuel Reinke stated that "one half of the parsonage behind the church was fitted up as a schoolroom and dwelling for the teachers."[137] Although the common school movement in Lancaster in 1838 had been accepted by a vote of 574,[138] and despite the existence of twenty-three common schools in that city in 1840,[139] Ellis and Evans, Lancaster County historians, claim that a school was maintained in the Moravian *Gemeinhaus* until 1852.[140]

B. The Moravian School at Donegal in Mt. Joy Township

The Germans who had located in the Scotch-Irish settlement of Donegal, about a half mile north of the hamlet of Milton

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134. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 5. April, 1809.*
135. *Lancaster Intelligencer*, Vol. 24, No. 20, Saturday, November 16, 1822.
136. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 26. Oktober, 1830.*
137. Reinke, Samuel, *Twelve Views of Churches, Schools, and Other Buildings, erected by the United Brethren in America, with brief descriptions annexed.*
138. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Diarium von Bruder Matthias Zahm, den 4. Juni, 1838.*
139. *Rules and Regulations of the Common Schools of the City of Lancaster*, 10.
140. Ellis, Franklin, and Evans, Samuel, *History of Lancaster County, Pa.*, 471.

Grove, in the northwest corner of Lancaster County, were visited and preached to, as early as 1743, by Jacob Lischy, the Moravian itinerant who came to Lancaster County as a missionary of Zinzendorf's "Congregation of God in the Spirit."[141] In 1745, a meeting-house for the use of the Brethren and others was built on an eleven-acre tract, granted by deeds of 1740 and 1745, from Thomas and Richard Penn to Francis Leib, John Kapp, John Etter, and Peter Rücksicker.[142] It was dedicated on March 22, 1745, and

> . . . here Lischy was accustomed to meet the youth of his congregation on the Sabbath, not merely for catechetical lessons, but for instruction suited to the capacity of the youth, in which exercise he was often assisted by members of the church.[143]

In April of 1745, the Reverend John Brandmiller, and in the following month, Jacob Kohn, both representing the Reformed side of the Moravian church, took up temporary residence there, assisted by the Reverend Thomas Yarrell, who preached in English for the benefit of the Scotch-Irish settlers. When the people of Donegal became better acquainted with the United Brethren, they sent a petition to Bethlehem for the regular services of a pastor and teacher. The Reverend Jacob Kohn and his wife were the appointees, and served Donegal from Whit-Sunday, 1745, until November, when he was recalled to Europe. In January of 1746, the Reverend Philip Meurer and his wife, Christiana, were sent to Donegal.[144]

Soon a dispute arose between the Reformed and Moravian groups. In 1747, Lischy left the Moravians and took up sides with the Reformed faction. "Meanwhile," relates the Moravian diarist, "the party which had withdrawn conceived a plan to deprive us of the use of the meeting-house, and on February 26, 1749, occupied it early in the morning and barred the doors against our entrance. Our group withdrew and held services in the house of one of our members, Peter Schneider."[145] It was deemed best by the Brethren to erect their own *Gemeinhaus*, and the building, of log construction, was begun in the spring of 1750 on a plot of

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141. Lowe, W. J., "Donegal Reformed Church at Milton Grove; Maytown Reformed Church at Maytown," *Lancaster County Historical Society Publications*, XXII, 36.

142. On record in Patent-Book A, Vol. XIV, p. 4761, in the Record-Office, City and County of Philadelphia.

143. Lowe, W. J., *op. cit.*, 38.

144. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 23. Oktober, 1746.*

145. *Ibid., Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Februar, 1749.*

land presented by Peter Schneider.[146] Still righteously indignant over the unjust deprivation of the use of the meeting-house, together with seventeen acres of land accompanying it, the Moravians took their grievances to the Justice of Lancaster County, Judge Smout. "Our trustees were questioned by him, by another justice and by the King's attorney," the "Bethlehem Diary" records, "and these gave our trustees a decision favorable to us. They secured for us from the Governor at Philadelphia through Judge Moulton an order, dated November, 1750, for us to occupy the church."[147] This "Patent of Confirmation for Lands in Donegal," issued by Thomas and Richard Penn, released the eleven-acre tract and improvements thereon to the Brethren. After the latter had reimbursed their opponents for the expense incurred in the erection of the meeting-house, the unfinished log *Gemeinhaus* was removed from Schneider's land and set up at the side of meeting-house.[148] It was dedicated by Bishop Matthew Hehl on September 28, 1753.[149]

A school was commenced on November 27, 1752, months before the *Gemeinhaus* was completed and while it was yet standing on Peter Schneider's land. Brother John Schmidt became its first resident teacher and was initiated in his school work by the itinerant supervisor and ardent proponent of the Jena method of instruction, Brother Philip Bader,[150] whose "Diary" relates:

> November 20, [1752]: The brethren are very busy constructing the chimney of the schoolhouse, and continued doing so all week . . .
>
> November 21: . . . I made use of the evening and instructed Br. Schmidt in the matter of spelling, and made quite a bit of progress in this respect.
>
> November 22-23: We continued discussing school problems, and touched upon many essential and basic points. Since there were so very many things to be discussed, I deemed it wise to mention only certain points in which are involved a brief, natural and simple organization and method. . .[151]

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146. Ziegler, J. L., *An Authentic History of Donegal Presbyterian Church*, 164.

147. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Dezember, 1750.*

148. Ziegler, J. L., *loc. cit.*

149. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 28. September, 1753.*

150. *Infra*, 303ff.

151. The reference here is to the "Jena Method" which Bader introduced in many country congregational schools, and which is described in detail in Chapter VIII of this volume.

November 24: Toward evening, Br. Christian Rauch came to us (from Warwick), and we conferred on school matters until almost midnight. Because he found the proposed methods to be very effective, easy, straightforward and practical . . . it was agreed to introduce them here.

November 27: The children who had been anxiously awaiting this day, began coming to school very early. There were 17 of them in all. They are lovely children, the kind that rejoice the heart. I conducted school according to the already mentioned method. It is admirably suited to the children and they responded well to it . . .

November 28-29: Br. John Schmidt took it upon himself to conduct the school. He fares well with the method and manages the children well.

November 30: Instead of a regular afternoon session, we had a *Singstunde* [song service] with the children, so that they might learn to sing and get familiar with some melodies.

December 1: No school was held today. Fridays and Saturdays are to remain open for our preacher-teacher and his wife (where there is only one couple) to visit their congregation.

December 4-5-6: The school continued with blessing in its usual course. Br. Schmidt and I spent the evening, until midnight, in our special work concerning school matters. Because my time here has elapsed, and because they have long since been expecting me in Heidelberg, I must take leave of Donegal.[152]

By their very nature, schools cannot escape the impact of dissensions within the community, and the Donegal school was no exception. Of the retarded state of affairs as he found them on his follow-up visit to Donegal the next year, Brother Bader gave the following account:

October 2, [1753]: I announced that there would be school. As many children as possible came, and the school was quite crowded. The pupils were not in good order any more, and had suffered quite a bit from the recent confusion among their parents.[153] But things are now in such a state that we can at last be happy once more. The school is again going along smoothly and in blessing after its recent re-organization.[154]

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152. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Bruder Baders Diarium von seiner Reise und Besuch derer Schulen im Lande vom 16. November, 1752 zum 28. Februar, 1753; den 20. November- 6. Dezember, 1752.*

153. *Supra*, 139f.

154. The "reorganization" undoubtedly attended the removal of the *Gemeinhaus* from Peter Schneider's plot of ground to its new location next to the former meeting-house. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Bruder Baders kurze Relation von seiner zweiten Besuchsreise im Land vom 15. September bis 30. Oktober, 1753; den 2. Oktober, 1753.*

By the following spring the school had made noteworthy progress under the direction of Brother Michael Zahm, whose "simple, direct and child-centered method kept the children happy, attentive, and eager to learn."[155] Other Brethren who taught the school during the second half of the eighteenth century were: Philip Meurer, John Brandmiller, Henry Beck, Gottfried Rösler, Melchior Schmidt, Anton Wagner, John Schweisshaupt,[156] John Roth, George G. Miller, Friedrich Peters and Ludwig Hübner.

By 1800, only a few comunicant members remained in Donegal.[157] As churches of other denominations began to flourish in the vicinity, pupils were attracted to their growing schools.[158] Furthermore, it was "no longer necessary to bring children from outlying districts because there were schoolmasters close at hand."[159] These several factors caused the little Moravian school at Donegal to decline rapidly after the turn of the nineteenth century. When the *Gemeinhaus* was badly in need of more repairs than the small congregation could afford, an attempt at renovation was made in 1804 from the funds derived from the sale of a piece of the school land. The school passed out of Moravian hands, when the first-floor rooms of the *Gemeinhaus* and the land around the house were rented for one year from April 1, 1806, to "Meyer, the inn-keeper, to be used as a schoolhouse."[160]

C. The Moravian School at Muddy Creek

Muddy Creek[161] heads in Berks County, a few miles north of Adamstown, and empties into the Conestoga. Along this stream, then in the upper part of Chester County, but since 1729 in Lan-

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155. *Ibid., Kurzegefasste Relation vom Bruder Baders abermaligen Schul-Visitation im Lande vom 25. Februar zum 20. April, 1754, den 7. zum 10. April, 1754.*

156. "The Mt. Joy School is undoubtedly the one in which Simon Snyder, Governor of Pennsylvania from 1808 to 1817, received his education from the Rev. Bro. Schweisshaupt, who besides ministering to two congregations, had to teach school to support life in those days."—from a letter by "Bobby Jones" to the Editor of the *Bethlehem Daily Times*, November 2, 1871.

157. *Protocoll der Conferenz der Arbeiter in den Landgemeinen den 7.-8. Mai, 1799.*

158. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 22. August, 1804.*

159. *Protocoll der Conferenz der Arbeiter in den Landgemeinen, den 7.-8. Mai, 1799.*

160. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 10. April, 1806.*

161. Variously called Mode Creek, Moden Creek and Modecrick in the old Moravian records.

caster County, a settlement was commenced in East Cocalico township by one Eberhard Riehm in 1724. After clearing a small space of ground, he procured a warrant and located about 400 acres of land, which in 1725 were confirmed to him by patent. The Reformed Church of Muddy Creek was founded about 1730.[162] Sometime in 1742, Count Zinzendorf preached at the house of Eberhard Riehm, and on his recommendation the Brethren fixed upon the settlement of Muddy Creek for the seat of a domestic mission.[163]

Jacob Lischy, who had been ordained by Bishop David Nitschmann at Philadelphia in January of 1743, became an itinerant preacher for the Moravians, and was sent to the Muddy Creek church on May 19, 1743.[164] Here in a space of six days, eighteen of the settlers built him a house, probably a *Gemeinhaus* type of building, on the farm of Henry Haller, Sr., in which he installed the first parochial schoolmaster, John Adam Luckenbach, with a school of twenty children. In October of 1745, Lischy, who had received Christian Henry Rauch as an assistant in his work at Muddy Creek, transferred the center of his missionary activity to Kreutz Creek in York County.[165] In 1746, Brother and Sister Bohner were in charge of the school. When they were recalled to Bethlehem, they were replaced at Muddy Creek by Brother Hayne.[166]

In the summer of 1748, some months after Lischy's disagreement with the Brethren, which resulted in his withdrawing from their fellowship and re-uniting with the Reformed Church of his birth and education, the Moravians were refused further use of the schoolhouse which had been built during the period of their activity in Muddy Creek, but the title of which was in the name of Jacob Lischy.[167] It is said that Lischy, or Riehm, or the German Reformed Pastor Conrad Templemann, or all three of them, were instrumental in depriving the Moravians of this rural pulpit and school. So much is certain, that Lischy about this time succeeded in extorting from Henry Haller, Sr. a promise that

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162. Livingood, Frederick G., *Eighteenth Century Reformed Church Schools*, 41.

163. Reincke, Abraham, *op. cit.*, 113.

164. Hinke, William J., "History of the Muddy Creek Reformed Congregation," *Lancaster County Historical Society Publications*, XXXVI, 277.

165. Hinke, William J., *op. cit.*, 279.

166. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 5. März, 1746.*

167. Hinke, William J., *op. cit.*, 280.

within a year, the latter would make him a deed for the lot on which the schoolhouse stood, although Lischy was named in the original deed as one of several "trustees for and in behalf of the congregation in connection with the Brethren worshiping at Muddy Creek."[168]

A solution to the controversy was offered in the "Bethlehem Diary," under date of March 17, 1748, as follows:

> . . . We spoke at length with the Brethren at Modecrick and advised them not to participate in the current quarrel led by Pastor Templemann and Pastor Lischy concerning their schoolhouse, but rather to yield and to make arrangements for another house on the land offered by Michael Rancke in Erlingtown [Earltown], in which Br. and Sr. Beck could live and could serve the Brethren in Modecrick and keep an eye on Erlingtown, in case the Lord awakens new souls in that vicinity.[169]

It may be assumed that the suggestion in the "Diary" entry was adopted, for "in August, 1748, Henry and Barbara Beck were living with Michael Rancke, whose farm lay nine miles to the south of the deserted school, in Earl township. From here they statedly visited their charge."[170]

VI. Lebanon County

A. The Early Moravian School at Hebron (Lebanon)

On December 19, 1747, the Moravian *Gemeinlein* of Hebron was formally organized[171] by the Reverend Christian Henry Rauch, who was then superintending the Brethren's domestic mission in Berks and Lancaster Counties.[172] The infant congregation "on the Quittopehille," having no building of its own for more than two years, was considered a filial of Warwick[173] until the end of 1749,[174] and during 1750, its twenty-three members worshiped in a nearby Lutheran church.[175] During those very early days, it was served by the Reverend John Philip Meurer,

168. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 31. Januar, 1747; den 17. März, 1748.*

169. *Ibid., den 17. März, 1748.*

170. Reincke, Abraham, *op. cit.*, 115.

171. Richards, Henry M. M., "Our Educational System in its Early Growth," *Lebanon County Historical Society Publications*, X, 81.

172. Hebron was in Lancaster County until 1813, when Lebanon County was formed from Lancaster and Dauphin Counties.

173. *Supra*, 83ff.

174. *Diarium des Gemeinleins zu Hebron, Memorabilia, 1752.*

175. Probably the old "Grubeland" Lutheran Church, about two and a half miles southeast of Lebanon.

who, with his wife, opened the first school for the children of the Hebron congregation on September 2, 1748.[176] This school was probably held in the log building which had been erected on the banks of the Quittopehille near the stone *Oratorium* in 1742, when Count Zinzendorf passed through that region to establish his "Free Church of God in the Spirit."

In 1749, Peter Kucher, who had recently left the Lutheran faith for the Moravian, donated twelve acres of his Hebron land as the site for a Moravian *Gemeinhaus*, the corner-stone[177] of which was laid on May 29, 1750,[178] and the completed edifice dedicated with appropriate services on June 16, 1751.[179] This tract was located on what is now Moravian Street, about 500 yards west of the Hebron Cemetery, and about one mile east of present-day Lebanon.

The Hebron *Gemeinhaus*, for which Peter Kucher had given not only the site, but also the building materials, was a structure of two and a half stories, measuring fifty-two by forty-eight feet.[180] A substantial stone edifice, it provided living quarters for the minister and the teacher, as well as two schoolrooms and a place of worship.[181] Into this *Gemeinhaus* was transferred the earlier Hebron school begun by the Meurers in 1748, and it became the second permanent school in present Lebanon County, the Hill Church[182] having a better claim to priority. From 1751 on, the Hebron school was no longer taught by the minister of the congregation, but had its own teacher to look after the instructional needs of its youth. From the "Bethlehem Diary,"

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176. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 2. September, 1759*, the eleventh anniversary of the establishment of the school.

177. This corner-stone is now in the wall of the present Moravian Church of Lebanon.

178. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 25. Mai, 1750:*
"Early this morning old Father Loesch arrived from Tulpehocken, and brought a letter from our Br. and Sr. Wagner in Quittopehille, in which they again wish to let us know that in a few days they expect to lay the corner-stone for their new church-and-school-house, and ask that we send back with the messenger whatever things are necessary for this occasion as well as instructions of how it shall be done."

179. Diary of the Moravian Congregation of Philadelphia, June 11, 1751.

180. Weirick, Charles D., "Early and Historic Churches in Lebanon Valley Prior to 1800," *Lebanon County Historical Society Publications*, XI, 36.

181. *Diarium d. G. z. Lebanon, den 15. Juni, 1755.*

182. The "Berg Gemeinde" of Lutheran and Reformed members was organized in 1744.

(Courtesy of the Moravian Church of Lebanon, Pa.)

THE HEBRON *Gemeinhaus*

under date of October 29, 1751, we learn that "a letter was brought from Br. and Sr. Anton Wagner in Quittopehille, telling how things were going with them and with Br. and Sr. Beck who had recently come there from Heidelberg as teachers of the school."[183] The same document, in an entry for February 24, 1752, relates that "We are living together very agreeably. I

183. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 29. Oktober, 1751.*

[Wagner] split the wood, and our Br. and Sr. Beck teach the school. We are very happy in our work of the Lord.''[184] Brother Bader went to Hebron late in 1752 to familiarize Brother and Sister Beck with the Jena method of instruction,[185] and recounted that ''on January 3, 4, and 5, [1753], the number of children on roll was as great as in any other country congregational school. But, because the pupils come from such distances, the number in attendance is seldom more than seventeen.''[186] A few months later, a meeting was called by Brother Christian Henry Rauch ''with all of the Hebron workers for the purpose of assigning to each his several duties. Br. and Sr. Neisser were to attend to the spiritual care of the Hebron flock, while Brother Engel and his wife, Anna Marie, tended the school.''[187]

Other teachers who served the Hebron school at various times during its century-long existence were: Brethren and Sisters Bader, (Franz) Boehler, Bleck, Fritz, Hoepfner, Huebner, Jorden, Langgaard, Peter, Utley and Zahm. The number of pupils in attendance at any one time varied from none to forty-five. We read in the ''Hebron Diary'' for November 20, 1769: ''No children came to school today because it rained so very hard.''[188] In contrast, we find under date of January 22, 1803 in the same manuscript: ''The school has grown to forty-five children. We were finally obliged to refuse new pupils, for we would have far too many.''[189] The school year at Hebron was never longer than seven months. Generally it would begin in October and end in May. Children of non-Moravian families were first admitted in 1754.[190]

During the Indian hostilities which raged so fiercely between 1755 and 1760, the stone *Gemeinhaus* at Hebron was privileged to offer refuge to the little country congregation of Bethel,[191] which, for reasons of safety, was obliged temporarily to abandon its church and school. These eventful days are described interestingly in the following entries of the ''Hebron Diary'':

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184. *Ibid., den 24. Februar, 1752.*
185. *Infra,* 308ff.
186. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Bruder Baders Diarium von seiner Reise und Besuch derer Schulen im Lande vom 16. November, 1752 zum 28. Februar, 1753, den 3.-5. Januar, 1753.*
187. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 14. April, 1753.*
188. *Ibid., den 20. November, 1769.*
189. *Ibid., den 22. Januar, 1803.*
190. *Ibid., den 29. September, 1754.*
191. *Infra,* 150.

> October 28, 1756: The Hebron teacher went again to Bethel in order to remove everything from the old schoolhouse and to bring it all to Hebron. He then locked up the Bethel schoolhouse . . . .
>
> November 1, 1756: Our Hebron school was increased through several children who fled from Bethel and took refuge here . . . .
>
> July 11, 1757: On Monday we started our school again, and because there are so many different kinds of children here among the refugees from Bethel, our school should in no way be interrupted, because many evil things could occur among so many unguarded children.[192]

Finally in the *Memorabilia* for 1760, contained in the "Hebron Diary," we read:

> Our dear brethren and sisters from Bethel who have been in our midst during the Indian War and have shared every blessing here as always, have now been assigned to the care of Br. and Sr. Schweisshaupt, and have returned home to their little village. By their doing so, our number of pupils has become considerably reduced.[193]

The peaceful routine of the Hebron school was again interrupted during the American Revolution, when, on August 27, 1777, some 270 Hessian prisoners captured by General Washington at Princeton and Trenton, were assigned to the *Gemeinhaus* and crowded into its church and schoolroom.[194] Their rowdy behavior was a source of much worry to the peace-loving Brother Philip Christian Bader and to his order-loving wife, both of whom openly welcomed the troops' departure on October 29 of the same year.[195]

The founding of the new town of Lebanon to the west of Hebron, by George Steitz in 1755, was the main reason for Hebron's failure to develop into a full and permanent Moravian community. On July 21, 1761, the Brethren in Bethlehem had the land surveyed and the plan of a town prepared, designing it to be an exclusive settlement.[196] It covered an area of fifty acres, south of the Quittopehille Creek and in the heart of Peter Kucher's farm. On paper it presented a pleasing appearance with its

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192. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 28. Oktober, 1756; den 1. November 1756;* and *den 11. Juli, 1757.*

193. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1760.*

194. Croll, Philip C., *Ancient and Historic Landmarks in the Lebanon Valley,* 191.

195. Richards, Henry M. M., "Hebron Moravian Cemetery," *Lebanon County Historical Publications,* X, 50.

196. *Grundriss von dem Gemein-Land in Lebanon und Project zu dasigem Gemein-Dörflein, gemessen den 21. Juli, 1761.*

squares, gardens and orchards, its tiers of lots for dwellings and larger spaces for schools, choir-houses, and whatever other buildings were then regarded as essential to a Moravian village. It was to have been called Hebron. However, the town was never built. Instead, the name of "Hebron" was given to the *Gemeinhaus,* in which for fully a century the scattered members of a rural congregation met with their ministers for worship and with their teachers for instruction.

Many of its members, in 1848, under the leadership of John Graeff, agreed upon the transfer of the congregation to Lebanon. The school, no longer needed because Lebanon was already well supplied with several other denominational schools, was not transplanted with the congregation, but became absorbed in the Sunday School in Lebanon. The old Hebron *Gemeinhaus* remained standing for more than fifty years after its abandonment, but unfortunately was torn down in the early years of the present century.

B. *Balthasar Orths Schule*

Certain entries in the "Lebanon Diary" point to the existence of a Moravian schoolhouse located on the plantation of one Balthasar Orth.[197] It seems to have been a filial to the Hebron school described above and was located about six miles south of it.[198] The school was opened on January 6, 1754 by Brother and Sister Melchior Schmidt "to keep those children safe from the world whose homes were too far removed from either Hebron or Lititz."[199] When the Schmidts were recalled to Bethlehem on August 28th of the same year, the school was taught by Sister Neisser who was then stationed at Hebron.[200]

Since no references in the Hebron or Lebanon records are made concerning this school after 1754, it may be assumed that it was of brief duration. The fact that, in 1815, "John and Balthasar Orth, the sons of Joseph and Gottlieb Orth, came to the Hebron school "to acquire some skill in arithmetic,"[201] would indicate that there was no school on their grandfather's farm for them to attend.

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197. Balthasar Orth and his wife, Anna Catherine, were received into the Moravian church at Warwick on February 9, 1749 by Bishop Cammerhof. They resided on the Schaefferstown Road, south of Hebron, on a tract of 325 acres.
198. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 21. März, 1790.*
199. *Ibid., den 6. Januar, 1754.*
200. *Ibid., den 22. September 1754.*
201. *Ibid., den 16. Januar, 1815.*

C. The Moravian Congregation at Bethel (Swatara)

Bethel, located on the Swatara Creek about three miles northwest of Fredericksburg and five miles north of Jonestown, in Lebanon County, grew into a Moravian country congregation soon after Zinzendorf, in 1742, and Lischy, in 1743, sowed the seeds of their faith through their earnest preaching in the house of one Ludwig Born. The first Moravian minister sent to Bethel from Bethlehem was John Brandmüller, who arrived in Swatara with his wife on October 30, 1745, and "was lovingly received into the home of Ludwig Born. They built an addition of one room to this house, into which the Brandmüllers moved on November 22. In this room, on December 15 of the same year, they opened a school."[202] After serving Bethel for five years, the Brandmüllers were succeeded in 1751 by Brother and Sister Höpfner. The school was transferred from its temporary quarters in Ludwig Born's house to the newly-built *Gemeinhaus* in 1754. The "Extract of News from Country Congregations for December, 1753" states:

> . . . Our brethren and sisters in Swatara are busily occupied with the building of their church-and-schoolhouse. They are anxious to have at least one room ready by next spring for a brother and his wife who are very much needed here by both adults and children.[203]

The school of secluded Bethel was forced to close its doors for reasons of safety on October 30, 1756,[204] when "roving parties of Indians infested the borders of the country, the public roads, and all those places in which they feared no resistance."[205] Four members of the Bethel congregation had been killed by Indians in June of 1756.[206] Ludwig Born's home which had housed the first school in Bethel and was located next to the new *Gemeinhaus*, was burned to the ground.[207] The children of Bethel were transferred to the stone *Gemeinhaus* in Hebron, where they were kept safe and attended school for almost four years.[208] After the cessation of Indian invasions in 1760, the Bethel school was re-

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202. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 22. Januar, 1746.*
203. *Ibid., Bericht aus Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Dezember, 1753.*
204. *Diarium d. G. z. Libanon* [*sic*], *den 30. Oktober, 1756.*
among the Indians in North America. Translated from the German by Christian Ignatius La Trobe. Part II, 180.
205. Loskiel, George H., *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*
206. *Diarium d. G. z. Libanon* [*sic*], *den 28. Juni, 1756.*
207. *Ibid., den 12. April, 1758.*
208. *Supra,* 147f.

opened on October 20, and its four children were placed in charge of Brother and Sister John Schweisshaupt.[209] "On the following day, between school sessions, Brother Schweisshaupt was busy removing weeds from the gardens and open space around the schoolhouse which had not been occupied for four years."[210] Before the end of that year, twelve children were attending school at Bethel.[211]

Brother and Sister Jacob Till were the teachers from 1766 to 1779. By 1792, during the tutelage of Brother and Sister Schlegel, the school had grown to forty pupils.[212] On February 1, 1795, a night-school was opened for adults.[213] The Bethel school extended into the early nineteenth century, but by 1810 seems to have been absorbed by the schools of nearby Lititz.[214]

D. The Moravians at Mill Creek (Mühlbach)

In 1743, a Moravian country congregation was established at Mill Creek, about twelve miles southwest of Heidelberg. In April of 1745, Brother Augustus G. Spangenberg went to Michael Brecht in Mühlbach to inspect a piece of his farm on which a schoolhouse was to be built. It was recommended to the Brethren of Mühlbach that "they build a two-story *Gemeinhaus* which would serve as their church, school, and dwelling for the preacher and teacher and their wives."[215] By October of the same year, "Brother Schnell, who was visiting in Mühlbach, found the newly-built schoolhouse almost completed."[216] Most of the construction work was done by Michael Brecht and Wendell Lautermilch.[217] The building was dedicated to the Lord's service on December 12th by Brother Spangenberg.[218] Its first teachers were Brother and Sister Anton Wagner, who remained at Mill Creek until August of 1747, when they were transferred to Magun-

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209. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, Memorabilia, 1760.*
210. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Bericht aus Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Bethel, Oktober, 1760.*
211. *Ibid., Memorabilia, 1760.*
212. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Memorabilia, 1792.*
213. *Ibid., Januar, 1796.*
214. *Supra,* 89ff.
215. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 12. April, 1745.*
216. *Ibid., den 27. Oktober, 1745.*
217. Tulpehocken Lutheran Church Records, the first Advent Sunday of 1745.
218. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 12. Dezember, 1745.*

tsche.[219] There are no records of any school at Mill Creek after that date, and the Moravian station was completely abandoned before 1760.[220]

E. Peter Feehrer's School at Stumpstown (Fredericksburg)

Stumpstown, present Fredericksburg, in Lebanon County, was laid out about 1755 by Frederick Stump and named for him.[221] Here a Lutheran church was erected in 1767-68. Soon afterwards a small log structure was put up on the southwest corner of the plot of ground sold by John Snavely to the Lutheran congregation, and

> . . . there, skilled to rule,
> The village master taught his little school.[222]

One of the teachers in this schoolhouse on Lutheran ground was Peter Feehrer [*sic*], a Moravian, whose grandfather was born in the Netherlands, and whose father, migrating to Nazareth, Pennsylvania, married a Miss Lesh and reared a family of five sons, of whom Peter was one. The latter, born March 13, 1760, received his education at Nazareth Hall, where he was a student for seven years, his parents having destined him for the ministry. His natural propensities, however, led him to disregard the restraints of the Church, and he came to Stumpstown, where he followed the vocation of scrivener, as certain old deeds go to prove.

In an old Lutheran financial record is the following entry: "September 27, 1785, Rented the Schoolhouse to Peter Führer for 15 shillings to the First Day of April next."[223] He seems to have been a man of natural wit and considerable intellectual attainments. Goldsmith's picture of the "Village Schoolmaster" applies to him as he was described by one of his granddaughters:

> A man severe he was, and stern to view;
> 'Twas certain he could write and cipher, too.
> In arguing, too, the person owned his skill,
> For, e'en though vanquished, he could argue still.

He attended religious services three miles out of town to the northwest at the Bethel Moravian Church, walking that distance

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219. *Infra*, 156.

220. Reichel, Levin T., *Early History of the Church of the United Brethren*, 194.

221. Espenshade, A. H., *Pennsylvania Place Names*, 252.

222. Grumbine, Ezra, "Stories of Old Stumpstown," *Lebanon County Historical Society Publications*, V, 189.

223. Maurer, Charles L., *op. cit.*, 99.

with his wife and children on many a Sunday. On weekdays he continued to teach in the rented schoolhouse on Lutheran ground, probably until the building was destroyed by fire in 1827.[224] His mortal remains and those of his wife, Barbara Ehrmann, rest in the old St. John's graveyard in unmarked graves.[225]

VII. Lehigh County

A. The Moravian Mission at Allemaengel

In 1742 the Moravians in Bethlehem sent Brother George Schneider to Allemaengel in Lynn Township for the purpose of starting a mission there for the benefit of the scattered settlers up in that northerly region.[226] During the ensuing four years, Leonard Schnell, John G. Nixdorf and other Moravian evangelists from Bethlehem labored there, preaching and teaching from house to house.[227] A school was opened in February, 1747,[228] and must have been held in the house of one of the local Brethren, for it was not until 1751 that the Provincial Helpers' Conference in Bethlehem discussed the project of building

> . . . a schoolhouse for the little congregation in Allemaengel in which the brethren could hold their services and meetings, and in which a couple who could be assigned to that congregation might live.[229]

The corner-stone was laid on August 30, 1751.[230] On December 7th of the same year, the completed *Gemeinhaus* was dedicated and shortly thereafter occupied by Daniel and Hannah Neubert, the couple sent from Bethlehem to conduct the church and school.[231]

Brother Philip Christian Bader's three-month itinerant journey to the several Moravian congregational schools[232] brought him to Allemaengel on February 17, 1753, and his "Diary" states in part:

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224. Richards, Henry, M. M., "Our Educational System in Its Early Growth," *Lebanon County Historical Society Publications*, X, 96.
225. Grumbine, Ezra, *op. cit.*, 189-190.
226. Reincke, Abraham, *op. cit.*, 209.
227. *Ibid.*
228. Scharf, John Thomas, and Westcott, Thompson, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884*, 1325.
229. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 18. Mai, 1751.*
230. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 30. August, 1751.*
231. Reincke, Abraham, *loc. cit.*
232. *Infra*, 304.

> February 19: . . . The number of children is small—only 16. Their simplicity and humility captured my heart at once. They are very dear children, and one feels very comfortable in their company. They were so moved that they ran straightway to their homes and told their parents what they had heard and learned in school.
>
> February 20: If there is a country school which fascinates me especially, it is this one at Allemaengel, both because of the way the children learn and because of their naive, tender hearts.[233]

By October of 1754 there were forty-five children attending the Allemaengel school, "most of them very obedient to the Spirit and willing to go to school regularly and to study diligently."[234] Brother John Henry Müller (Moeller) and his wife Rosina were settled over this rural charge in 1754[235] and were supplanted by Brother and Sister Graff by February of the following year. By the close of 1765, Allemaengel's exposed location had rendered it unsafe from Indian attack, and

> . . . when the children came to school and talked about the French and Indian disturbances in which many people were being killed, they would say, one to another, 'Let us love the Lord with all our might, so that when the Indians come and kill us, we shall get to Heaven real soon.' Another would say, 'If only they would come when I am asleep! Then I would know nothing about their killing me.' Another would say, 'The Lord must want us to come home to be with Him soon; but if He does not will it, they can do us no harm, for we are His.'[236]

Conditions became intolerable in the little unprotected village when it was traversed by many Indians on their way from Port Allen to Philadelphia. The children were sent to Nazareth for measures of safety, and the Allemaengel school was closed on November 26, 1756.[237]

After the children had not had school in Allemaengel for almost two years because of the danger of Indians, "the dear Lord once more granted clear and safe roads to school which was again opened on July 17, 1758, with eighteen pupils in attendance."[238]

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233. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Bruder Baders Diarium von seiner Reise und Besuch derer Schulen im Lande vom 16. November zum 26. Februar, 1753, den 17. Februar, 1753.*
234. *Ibid., Beilage für Oktober, 1754, Relation von Ettweins Kinderbesuch in Allemaengel und Gnadenhütten.*
235. Reincke, Abraham, *loc. cit.*
236. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Ein Brief von Bruder Höpfner an die Gemeine zu Bethlehem, den 30. Oktober, 1755.*
237. *Ibid., den 26. November, 1756.*
238. *Ibid., Memorabilia der Landgemeinen, 1758.*

The school and congregational work was conducted by Brother and Sister Pitschmann until June of 1762, after which it was assumed by Brother and Sister Phillip.[239] Upon the Moravians' reoccupation of their lands on the Mahoning, the site of the early Gnadenhütten mission, in 1770[240] the few remaining members of the congregation in Allemaengel removed thither and were incorporated into that church.[241] The schoolhouse at Allemaengel was later sold to the Lutherans.[242]

B. The Moravian Schools at Emmaus (Maguntsche)

Plans for a school at Maguntsche[243] had been discussed officially as early as September 6, 1745.[244] As a result of this discussion and subsequent ones, Jacob Ehrenhardt and Sebastian Knauss submitted a sketch for the proposed schoolhouse on February 20, 1746.[245] On March 28th of the same year,

> . . . Brother Joseph[246] left for Philadelphia to attend the Synod there; however, he traveled *via* Maguntsche in the company of Brethren Siedel, Mack, Pyrlaeus and Höpfner, to lay the cornerstone for the newly-planned schoolhouse. It happened in this way: After Brother Pyrlaeus had sung a hymn dedicated to the occasion, Brother Joseph set the stone in place, stepped upon it. and prayed to the Lamb of God with fervent petition, that His name alone might be honored and glorified in this settlement and especially in this schoolhouse. Afterwards a love feast was held with the brethren and sisters and friends of the congregation, to whom this occasion was of special blessing and who shed many tears of joy at it.[247]

The schoolhouse, of log construction, was opened on February 6, 1747,[248] apparently several months before its completion. Christopher Demuth, a native of Moravia, and his wife were placed in charge of the forty children who had been enrolled. In June of the same year, the day school was extended to include a

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239. *Ibid., 1762.*
240. *Supra,* 130ff.
241. Reincke, Abraham, *loc. cit.*
242. Scharf, John Thomas, and Westcott, Thompson, *loc. cit.*
243. The name "Emmaus" was not commonly applied to the settlement before 1761. Prior to that date, it was called Maguntsche (in Indian, "the feeding place of the bears") and Salisbury.
244. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.,* 207.
245. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 20. Februar, 1746.*
246. *alias* Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg.
247. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 28. März, 1746.*
248. Levering, J. Mortimer, *loc. cit.*

boarding department.[249] Some well-trained children from Nazareth were added "as a salt,"[250] and on July 15, 1747 two New York children were admitted.[251] The school had already developed to this point by the time of the formal organization of the Moravian congregation at Emmaus on July 30, 1747.[252] In August, Brother and Sister Anton Wagner were sent out from Bethlehem to Maguntsche for the express purpose of visiting the people of that neighborhood and soliciting pupils for the school.[253] The formal and official opening of the school took place on September 18, 1747, and thereafter followed a rapid succession of admissions to both the day school and the boarding department.[254] Several Indian boys and girls were among those early pupils. By the close of the year 1747, three couples were serving the school; Anton and Elizabeth Wagner, John and Rosina Münster, and Christian and Mary Heyne. The earliest teachers, the Demuths, left the service of the school in the fall of 1747.[255] Others who taught the school before 1750 were: Brother and Sister John G. Nixdorf, Brother and Sister John Michler, Brother and Sister Peter Lehnert, the Swedish Brother Sven Roseen, and single Brother Hobsch.

The gradual growth of the Maguntsche school was given a sharp impetus during 1750 and 1751. On February 25, 1750, when the girls' school in the Ysselstein House[256] on the south side of the Lehigh River was closed, the younger girls were brought

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249. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 30. Juni, 1747.*

250. The autobiography of one Anna Boehler states: "Around the time of my baptism in my eighth year, a school was started in Emmaus, and its opening was announced in one of our meetings. Since Spangenberg wanted a few 'glowing embers' (as he expressed himself) for it from our midst, I was sent there with two other children. It was a difficult assignment to be sent from our beautiful school in Nazareth to an empty house far out in the wilds. I could not get used to it. It is true, we had frequent visits and diversion from Bethlehem, but still we kept wanting to return to our former school. It was our good fortune to be able to return to Bethlehem soon, and since the Nazareth school had to be moved to Germantown, we transferred along with it and had a blessed time."

251. *Ibid., den 15. Juli, 1747.*

252. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 195.

253. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 8. August, 1747.*

254. *Ibid., den 18., 21., und 28., September, 1747.*

255. Abel, Allen E., "The Emmaus Moravian Congregation," *Lehigh County Historical Society Publications*, II, 48.

256. *Supra*, 48.

down to Maguntsche.[257] The boarding school at Frederickstown[258] in Montgomery County, which had been opened on June 3, 1746 on the plantation of Henry Antes, was closed in August of 1750 on account of the latter's estrangement from the United Brethren, and its pupils were transferred to schools in other Moravian settlements. On August 12th, sixteen boys from Frederickstown arrived at the Maguntsche school. They were graciously received into their new home by the resident pupils, teachers, and Brother Gottlieb Petzold who had been sent especially from Bethlehem to assist with the installation of the Frederickstown boys.[259] And in 1751, still a third group sought refuge in the Maguntsche school. The Moravian school at Oley[260] in Berks County was abandoned because of financial straits in the summer of 1751. The Oley boys were transferred to Maguntsche on September tenth. This influx made it necessary during the ensuing two weeks to transfer the Maguntsche girls, together with the girls from the evacuated school at Oley, to Bethlehem, where they were distributed between the boarding school and its adjunct in the Ysselstein House on the south side.[261] The Maguntsche school was exclusively for boys from 1751 to the latter part of 1753.[262] These boys not only came from Bethlehem, Nazareth, Frederickstown and Oley, but among their number were included sons of wealthy New Yorkers and Philadelphians.[263] They were abundantly cared for both spiritually and temporally, "with an allowance of meat twice a week."[264]

Numerous changes occurred also among the staff of workers at the Maguntsche school during the eventful year of 1751. In April, the Michlers were transferred to Quittopehille, and were succeeded in Maguntsche by John Christopher Pyrlaeus.[265] Brother and Sister Brocksch were brought to the school as assistants in June, replacing the Lehnerts. Other additions were: in July, Brother and Sister Horn;[266] in September, Brother and Sister

257. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 232.
258. *Infra*, 162ff.
259. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 12. August, 1750.*
260. *Supra*, 124ff.
261. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 17. Juli* and *den 15. September, 1751.*
262. Levering, J. Mortimer, *loc. cit.*
263. Abel. Allen E., *op. cit.*, 49.
264. *Ibid.*
265. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 16. April, 1751.*
266. *Ibid., den 30. Juli, 1751.*

Oerter,[267] the single Brethren Siedrich and Lindemeyer, the latter taking the place of Adam von Erdt,[268] The school, reinforced by the transfer of pupils from Frederickstown and Oley, continued to prosper steadily during the year 1752. The Horns, who were returned to Bethlehem in March for a period of physical rest, mental relaxation and spiritual uplift, were replaced by Brother and Sister John Francke.[269] In August, the single Brother Loux from Christiansbrunn was added as an assistant instructor.[270] In September, Jacob Ehrenhardt and Sebastian Knauss, both of whom had planned the school originally in 1746, each gave twenty-five acres of their land to be added to the school grounds.[271]

After five years of fruitful service, the Maguntsche school was dealt a hard blow in 1753. Its isolated location eight miles south of Bethlehem laid it open to Indian attack; and to forestall any brutal harm to the boys, the authorities deemed it wise to close the school. The evacuation plan was outlined by Brethren Lawatsch, Hehl, and Christian Seidel at a conference in Maguntsche on July 23rd, at which it was agreed to return half of the boys to the care of their parents, and the other fourteen, whose parents were serving the Church in distant places or were not alive, were to be transporated to Bethlehem.[272] Accordingly, on August 27th, the fourteen boys were brought to Bethlehem and quartered there in a room in the Brethren's House, which had formerly been occupied by the boys of the Bethlehem school.[273] Eight teachers returned to Bethlehem with the boys.

But Maguntsche was not long without a school. Before the end of the year, a day school for the children of the neighborhood was reorganized, when on November 19th, Brother Brandmiller "opened a school this morning with six boys for the first time with prayer and the hymn 'Jesus Loves the Little Ones'; conducted school with eight girls in the afternoon; and in the evening from seven to eight o'clock, held night-school with three boys."[274]

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267. *Ibid., den 20. September, 1751.*
268. *Ibid., den 24. September, 1751.*
269. *Ibid., den 8. März, 1752.*
270. *Ibid., den 14. August, 1752.*
271. *Ibid., Diarium des Bruders Francke, Maguntsche, den 25.* and *den 26. September, 1752.*
272. *Ibid., den 23. Juli, 1753.*
273. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 252.
274. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Diarium des Bruders Brandmiller. Maguntsche, den 19. November, 1753.*

By the close of 1754 it was considered safe by the authorities at Bethlehem to return the boys to Maguntsche who had been transferred to the Brethren's House during the summer of the preceding year. This was done on January 10, 1755, when a new boarding-school department was opened in the Maguntsche school, with Joachim Sensemann and his wife in charge of the household, and John Petersen, a single brother, serving as preceptor, the whole establishment under the superintendence of John Ettwein and Francis Boehler with their wives, now in charge of the entire department of work among the children of outlying places. The scene of the boys' departure from the Brethren's House and their trip to Maguntsche are realistically depicted in the "Bethlehem Diary" of January 10, 1755, as follows:

> . . . This departure of the boys took place very leisurely. A love feast was tendered to them at breakfast this morning in the dining-room of the Brethren's House, where at 10 o'clock following they enjoyed also a light mid-day repast, being entertained with music during the course of the meal. Their attention was called to the Text of today. Upon leaving, they expressed their gratitude to our beloved Father Nitschmann and Lawatsch and especially to Brother Gottlieb Petzold for his love and care, enjoyed by them during their stay in Bethlehem and in the Brethren's House. Our dear Father Nitschmann blessed them with the hymn 'Let them stand before Thee, cleansed in the blood of Thy Grace, and go forth on their pilgrim path with Thy seal upon their brow!' Our older Bethlehem boys accompanied these fourteen little pilgrims (who departed two by two, and were very inspiring to behold) as far as the Lehigh, and standing on this shore, serenaded them with hymns until they had reached the other side of the river. Br. Ettwein and the older boys left our Inn and traveled to Salisbury [Maguntsche] on foot. The smaller boys followed in a wagon. The two Brethren, Jacob Ehrenhardt and Sebastian Knauss, as a testimony of their love and joyful reception, had come with their two wagons to fetch the boys; and a third wagon had been given them from here.[275]

In July of 1755, John Schmidt and his wife went to the Maguntsche school to succeed the Sensemanns in their household supervision. At that time the number of boys in the newly-formed school was sixteen.[276] In 1758, the Engels were brought to Maguntsche to replace the Schneiders in their school work.[277] In the same year, Jacob Ehrenhart and Sebastian Knauss, who six years earlier had given fifty acres to the school, donated jointly 102 acres of land for the erection of a Moravian hamlet. The tract lay

275. *Ibid., den 10. Januar, 1755.*
276. *Ibid., Memorabilia, Juli, 1755.*
277. *Ibid., Diarium der Landgemeinen, Salisbury, den 3. April, 1758.*

at the foot of South Mountain, and included the church, school and adjacent grounds. The village, consisting of seventy-five adults and forty-seven children, was surveyed[278] and laid out in lots in April of 1759.

Brother and Sister Schweisshaupt taught the school during the first half of 1760, being replaced by Brother and Sister Daniel Neubert on August fourth. On that date there were ten boys and ten girls in the school.[279] The Neuberts were succeeded by Brother and Sister Pitschmann on August 11, 1762, when there were fourteen children in attendance.[280] In 1763, the Pitschmanns, in turn, were followed by Brother and Sister Wagner who had previously served the early Maguntsche school from 1747 to 1750. During the Wagners' direction the school again flourished; and in 1763, the substantial building on the opposite side of the street was erected as a home of refuge in case of Indian attack. It was for a time used for school purposes.[281] The Wagners were replaced by Brother and Sister Lindemeyer on November 28, 1766. The latter remained at Emmaus until 1774, when they were superseded by Brother and Sister Langaard from Lancaster.[282] The following teachers served the Emmaus school during the last two decades of the eighteenth century: 1778, Brother Franz Boehler; 1779, Brother and Sister Schwihel; 1781, Brother Anton Wagner; 1784, Brother and Sister Krogstrup; 1786, Brother and Sister Bagge; 1791, Brother Grube; 1796, Brother Ludwig Boehler.

On November 15, 1805, Brother Bardill reported to the Provincial Helpers' Conference that

> . . . it was nigh unto impossible for him to continue to conduct the Emmaus school, because the brethren there want classes held from 8 to 12 in the morning and from 1 to 5 in the afternoon. He cannot stand such long hours.[283]

The Conference admitted that such a schedule was too heavy, and granted Brother Bardill permission to hold sessions for three hours in the morning and for two hours in the afternoon. He was encouraged to conduct the school to the best of his strength and ability, and to comfort himself with the faith that "whatsoever

278. *Ibid., den 21. Dezember, 1758.*

279. *Ibid., Memorabilia der Landgemeinen, 1760.*

280. *Ibid., den 16. August, 1762.*

281. Roberts, Charles R., and Stoudt, John B., *History of Lehigh County*, 651.

282. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Memorabilia der Stadt- und Landgemeinen, den 30. Juni, 1773.*

283. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 15. November, 1805.*

one does for the young and tender minds of children will some day bring forth good fruit for the honor and praise of our Lord.''[284] Brother Bardill remained at Emmaus until January 13, 1807, when Brother Joseph Leinbach was appointed schoolmaster.[285] Although the references to the Emmaus school after 1810 are very few and widely scattered in the Moravian records, they prove conclusively that it continued to function as a congregational day school for the community of Emmaus until the middle of the nineteenth century when it was replaced by the public school.

VIII. Monroe County

A. The Moravians at Dansbury (Stroudsburg) and Vicinity

A Moravian school and domestic mission in the upper valley of the Delaware were the results of Zinzendorf's transit through that region in August of 1742. Through him, and afterwards through missionaries from Bethlehem who traveled that way from Shecomeko, a knowledge of the Brethren's religious principles and their views of education were disseminated in the neighborhood. In consequence, it was not long before some of the settlers applied to the Moravians for a school and for the Gospel ministry. Both were granted them; and in this way the Brethren came to occupy the Minisinks which included the Broadhead settlement of Dansbury (now Stroudsburg), Walpack, and the region drained by Pawlin's Kill. The last two were at that time within the limits of Sussex, now Warren, County in New Jersey.[286]

A *Gemeinhaus,* erected for the use of the Brethren in the Minisinks on the Brodhead tract, was dedicated to the worship of God by Brother Abraham Reincke on May 20, 1753.[287] The school in the *Gemeinhaus* was opened by Brother and Sister Joseph Payne on July 5th following ''with a very observable text: 'Do not clog yourselves with many things.' ''[288] Brother Thomas Yarrell came to Dansbury in November of 1753, and his ''Diary,'' in part, reads as follows:

> November 26, 1753: Began our school in Dansbury today. There came but few children at the start, some having no clothes and others no shoes, and living distant from the schoolhouse.

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284. *Ibid.*
285. *Ibid., den 13. Januar, 1807.*
286. Reinecke, Abraham, *op. cit.,* 131-2.
287. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Relation von der Einweihung der Kirche in Dansbury, Beilage für Mai und Juni, 1753.*
288. *Ibid.,* "Brother Payne's Weekly Account of his Labors in Dansbury, 1753."

> December 3, 1753: Luke and Anna Brodhead and John McMichael's daughters came to school the first time since we came up here. Mr. Brodhead's daughter is to board at Brother Culver's because it is so difficult to get over the creek in winter.[289]

A few miles to the southwest of Dansbury a small German congregation was beginning to form at Hoeth's plantation.[290] Brother Graff visited there in 1754 and related:

> . . . At present five or six German families are living nearby. Brother Hoeth has offered a piece of land for a schoolhouse, and has shown it to me, but I had noticed a piece of land outside of his line that would be better suited to the purpose, if it came to the point.[291]

This projected school never "came to the point," because

> . . . we received the melancholy account of Gnadenhütten being destroyed by Indians, and the sad news that seven Brethren and Sisters and one little child had been shot, burnt and scalped; and shortly afterwards we heard of the Hoeth plantation destroyed by the Indians and of near forty persons being killed by them thereabouts.[292]

The Dansbury mission suffered a similar fate during the same Indian hostilities. The *Gemeinhaus* was burned in December, 1755, and the mission was permanently abandoned.[293]

IX. Montgomery County

A. The Moravian School at Frederickstown

On September 2, 1735, Henry Antes, eldest son of Philip Frederick Antes[294] bought some 200 acres of land in Frederick Township in present-day Montgomery County, and soon thereafter ac-

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289. *Ibid.*, "Diary of the Rev. Thomas Yarrell," November 26, December 3, 1753.

290. This was located near present-day Gilbert in Monroe County. For an account of the removal of the Hoeth family from Philadelphia to "beyond the Blue Mountains," see pp. 304-305.

291. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem*, "A Brief Account of the Visit of Brother and Sister Graff in Dansbury and Friedensthal at Hoeth's, beyond the Blue Mountains, on December 16-23, 1754."

292. Diary of the Moravian Congregation of Philadelphia, November 28, 1755.

293. Reincke, Abraham, *op. cit.*, 132.

294. When Philip Frederick Antes, son of Heinrich Antes of the noble family of von Blume of Rhenish Bavaria, came to America from Freinsheim, Germany, he brought along only the oldest child, Johann Heinrich, born 1701, and the youngest, Mary Elizabeth. After a temporary stay in Germantown, he bought 154 acres of land in New Hanover Township, where he settled, lived and died. His son Henry bought land and settled in Frederick township near his father's farm.

quired an adjoining tract of 250 acres near Falkner Swamp in New Hanover township for a mill-pond.[295] On this plantation of more than 300 acres, the "pious layman of Frederickstown," as Henry Antes was aptly called because of his religious zeal and activity, erected a stone dwelling-house, and also a grist-mill on Swamp Creek nearby.[296] He had become active in the Moravian Church in 1736, after his estrangement with the Reverend John Philip Boehm of the Reformed faith, and after his acquaintance with Bishop Spangenberg during the latter's residence at Christopher Wiegner's house at Skippack.[297] His home in Frederickstown was the scene of many religious gatherings, notable among which was the assembly of 3000 people, mostly Germans, who gathered there on May 5, 1740 to hear the great and eloquent revivalist, George Whitefield.[298] It was here at the Frederickstown plantation that the Moravian Synod met in March of 1745;[299] and during its session, Henry Antes offered his farm with its buildings and his grist-mill for the use of the Brethren as a boarding school for boys.[300] His generous offer was accepted at once; and on June 3rd of the same year, the first non-sectarian boys' boarding school in Pennsylvania was started.[301] Antes and his family, except two sons, John and Henry, who remained as pupils, moved to Bethlehem, where he gave his whole time to the temporal affairs of the Moravians.

The Antes' farmhouse, erected in 1735-36 of brown sandstone, had walls twenty inches thick as a protection against the Indians of that open country. The first and second floors had four rooms each, with an open attic forming the third floor. Christopher and Anna Demuth occupied the farmhouse, while John and Rosina Müller operated the grist-mill.[302] Both the farm and the mill were worked for the benefit of the school.[303] For several years the

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295. McMinn, Joseph H., *Souvenir: Fourth Annual Reunion of the Descendants and Friends of Lieut.-Col. John Henry Antes, September 4, 1911*, 1.
296. McMinn, Joseph H., *Life and Times of Henry Antes*, 167.
297. Detweiler, Jones, "Annals of the Moravians in Montgomery County," *Edward Matthew's Scrapbook*, 8.
298. Godcharles, Frederic A., *Daily Stories of Pennsylvania*, 312.
299. McMinn, Joseph H., *loc. cit.*
300. Godcharles, Frederic A., *op. cit.*, 32.
301. Jordan, John W., "Henry Antes' Moravian School in 1745," *Historical Sketches of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, IV*, 172.
302. *Ibid.*, 171.
303. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 30. Juni, 1745.*

(Courtesy of Martha B. Harper)

THE FREDERICKSTOWN SCHOOL

neighboring farm of William Frey, a Baptist, was also used by the Frederickstown school and operated for its support.[304] The school children in their spare time helped with the farm work, especially during the harvest time.[305]

Between June 3rd and 10th, 1745, those boys who had been taken from Bethlehem to Nazareth by Brother Francke in July of 1743, were transferred with some other boys from Bethlehem in detachments down to the Antes' homestead, as a nucleus of the more extensive establishment to be developed there.[306] This initial group of twenty-three boys included a Negro from St. Thomas in the West Indies, and a Mohegan Indian.[307] Before the close of 1745, the number of pupils reached thirty-four.[308] Two men from Frederick township, Michael Schaefer and William

304. *Ibid.*, den 23. August, 1747.

305. *Ibid., den 15. Juni, 1745.*

306. *Ibid., den 10. Juni, 1745.*

307. McMinn, Joseph H., *loc. cit.*

308. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 18. Oktober, 1745.* Of these 34 pupils, 7 were from Philadelphia, 21 from other places in Pennsylvania, 4 from New York, 1 Mohegan Indian and I Negro from St. Thomas, West Indies.

Frey, were named as trustees "in charge of the external economy of the school."[309] A regulation adopted on October 18, 1745 required one of the trustees to reside at the school at all times.[310] Brother Christopher Francke and his wife, Christina, were brought from Bethlehem "to superintend the internal affairs of the school."[311] The Franckes were soon joined in their superintendency by Dr. Adolph Meyer.[312] In February of 1746, Bishop Spangenberg organized the school as a religious organization, a *Kindergemeine*, with a "choir" of younger boys and a "choir" of older ones.[313] English classes for the older boys had begun already in September of 1745.[314] Moravian teachers in secular and religious training, appointed from time to time during the school's five-year existence, included: John C. Heyne, June 3 to September 10, 1745; C. Frederick Oerter, appointed September 11, 1745; John Henry Müller, 1745 to 1748; Thomas and Anna Schaaf, 1745 to 1747; Adam von Erdt, appointed October, 1747; Thomas Hartmann, appointed February 1746; Paul Vetter, appointed February 1746; John and Elizabeth Turner, 1746 to July 6, 1748; John C. Pyrlaeus, appointed January 31, 1749; Samuel Witke, appointed March 4, 1749; J. Frederick and Anna Oerter, 1749. In 1747, there was an enrollment of forty boys, including seven Indians and several Negroes.[315]

In 1750, because of his estrangement from the Brethren over differences on several ecclesiastical practices, Henry Antes gave up his activities in the Moravian Economy at Bethlehem, and prepared to remove his farm in Frederickstown.[316] This, of course, meant the dissolution of the school. In early September, about sixteen white students[317] were taken to the Maguntsche school,[318] and a few of the Indian and Negro boys were removed to Bethlehem and Gnadenhütten.[319] Two weeks later the remaining boys

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309. *Ibid., den 15. April, 1745.*
310. *Ibid., den 18. Oktober, 1745.*
311. *Ibid., den 26. Juni, 1745.*
312. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 206.
313. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 25. Februar, 1746.*
314. *Ibid., den 23. September, 1745.*
315. Miller, Daniel, "The Early Moravians in Berks County," *The Pennsylvania-German*, X, 29.
316. McMinn, Joseph H., *op. cit.*, 183.
317. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 9. August, 1750.*
318. *Ibid., den 30. August, 1750.*
319. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 251.

were placed in the Moravian school at Oley.[320] Brother Pyrlaeus and his wife, who were in charge of the school at its close, came to Bethlehem the first week in September with John Michler, Peter and Anna Maria Lehnert, and several farm laborers who had been employed at the school.[321] John Levering and his wife and Peter Braun accompanied the detachment to Oley. Dr. Adolph Meyer and his wife remained at Frederickstown until he brought the closed-out accounts of the institution to Bethlehem on September 14th, the official closing date of the school.[322]

X. Northampton County

A. The Moravian School at Schoeneck

On October 3, 1762, a Moravian congregation was formally organized at Schoeneck, a small, rural settlement about a mile from Nazareth, and "because three families with a large number of children now live there," preparations were made at once to build a *Gemeinhaus* for church and school purposes.[323] Apparently the people of Schoeneck did not wait for the completion of the building before organizing their school, because already on November 22nd of the same year, "Brother Neubert opened a school with six boys and five girls with the appropriate text: 'Come, for all is ready.' "[324] Brother and Sister Neubert were succeeded in their teaching at Schoeneck by the Michlers in 1766.

When Brother and Sister Bader, who had conducted the religious services at both Gnadenthal and Schoeneck for nine years,

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320. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 23. August, 1750.*

321. Levering, J. Mortimer, *loc. cit.*

322. Henry Antes lived in his Frederickstown home until his death on July 20, 1755. On July 22nd he was buried by the Moravians, with whom he had become reconciled, beside his father in the family plot in a field between the house and mill on Swamp Creek. His grave is marked by a white marble slab erected by the Moravians at Bethlehem which reads:

Hier ruhet Heinrich Antes:
Ein Kleinod dieses landes.
Ein Redlich Kuhner handhaber der
Gerechtigkeit,
Und treuer diener vor welt,
Und Goddes-Leute.

The Antes' homestead later became known as "Colonial Farm," and served as General George Washington's headquarters, September 21-26, 1777. The house still stands and is occupied by the present owners who operate the farm.

323. *Diarium des Gemeinleins zu Schoeneck, Oktober, 1762.*

324. *Ibid., November, 1762.*

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BRETHRENS' CHURCH & PARSONAGE AT SCHONECK, PENN^A

Taken from Samuel Reinke's *Twelve Views*

were transferred to Hebron in 1771, the Provincial Helpers' Conference at Bethlehem considered the possibility of making Schoeneck a filial of Nazareth and of sending its children to the Nazareth schools. The plan, however, was rejected as being "too impracticable."[325] Instead, it was resolved that "for the time being, Brother and Sister Michler should assume the religious duties at Schoeneck in addition to their school-teaching there."[326]

In November of 1792 a resolution was drawn up and presented to the Provincial Helpers' Conference "to enlarge the *Gemeinhaus,* so that it would have a larger chapel, a couple of classrooms of proper size, and a kitchen."[327] By the next month, not only had the building program been approved, but the various Moravian congregations had already subscribed a total of sixty pounds sterling for the work.[328] The enlargement and renovation were not completed, however, until 1796.[329] In 1826, a new *Gemeinhaus* of stone, containing one schoolroom and a parsonage was built.[330] Brethren Ellert Coortsen, Möhring, Paul Weiss, Schulz, Gottfried Appelt and George Beitel taught school and conducted religious services at Schoeneck between 1784 and 1835. In 1840, it was reported that ". . . the school consisted of fifteen children, mostly boys, and it was very difficult to find a teacher because so few able Sisters were available."[331] Such a sister was found in the person of Lisetta Bauer who began her teaching in Schoeneck on April 1st of that year.[332] The absence of any mention of the school after 1840 in any of the Moravian records would lead one to surmise that it succumbed completely to the competition offered by Moravian schools in nearby Nazareth which had been absorbing its pupils since 1800.

XI. Philadelphia County

A. The First Moravian School in Germantown

For the benefit of the children of all German parents residing in the country, who would like to have them better taken care of without neglect to their household, it is hereby pro-

325. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 16. Oktober, 1771.*
326. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 15. Oktober, 1771.*
327. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., November, 1792.*
328. *Ibid., den 11. Dezember, 1792.*
329. *Ibid., den 19. Februar, 1797.*
330. Reincke, Samuel, *op. cit.,* n.p.
331. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 16. März, 1840.*
332. *Diarium d. G. z. Schoeneck, den 1. April, 1840.*

Allen teutſchen Eltern auf dem Lande, welche ihre Kinder gerne beſſer beſorget ſähen ohne Hinderung ihres Hausweſens, gedencket man dazu einen einfältigen und hertzlichen Vorſchlag zu thun am nechſtfolgenden 6ten April 1742. Nachmittage um 1 Uhr. Wornach ſich des Heils ihrer Kinder begierige Väter oder Mütter in allen Townſchips zu richten belieben, und ſich deßhalben zu beſagter Zeit und Stunde an Bechtels oder des Häffners Lehmans Hauſe in Germantown melden wollen. Wer ſelbſt nicht kommen kan, der wolle ſeine Meynung jemand anders auftragen.

Germantown am 22. March, 1742.

(Courtesy of the Moravian Seminary and College for Women)

JOHN BECHTEL'S *Circular* TO PARENTS

posed to make a simple and heartfelt appeal on the following 6th [old style; the 17th according to the Gregorian calendar] of April, 1742, in the afternoon at one o'clock. In furtherance of which the fathers and mothers in all townships who are concerned about the welfare of their children, are asked to present themselves at the appointed hour at Bechtel's or potter Lehman's house in Germantown. Those who cannot be there in person should express their opinion through someone else.

This circular, printed in German, was issued by John Bechtel[333] on April 3, 1742.[334] The project of organizing a school in Germantown on the "model of the Brethren's schools in Germany" had been discussed and approved at the fourth conference called by Count Zinzendorf and held in the house of John Ashmead on Market Square.[335] A few persons from the immediate environs came in response to the Count's invitation, but none from the outlying districts, except such as were members of the fifth Synod which was to convene on the next day. General indifference to school matters, poverty too great to supply suitable clothing for the children, lack of time, poor means of travel, and a distrust for the *Herrnhuter* worked together among the country folk as impediments to this greatly needed education effort.[336] Christopher Saur, who had printed the German circular ridiculed the enthusiastic Zinzendorf for "wanting 100 children to attend his proposed school when there were only 40 in all of Philadelphia and Germantown."[337]

Notwithstanding, a school was opened on May 4, 1742 in the Ashmead house[338] in Germantown, with twenty-five girls in attendance. It was the first Moravian school in Pennsylvania and the nucleus for the oldest Protestant girls' boarding school in the United States. Zinzendorf's sixteen-year-old daughter, Benig-

333. John Bechtel (1690-1777) came to Pennsylvania from the Palatinate in Germany in 1726. He settled in Germantown, where in 1733 he became pastor of the Reformed Church on Market Square. Bechtel came to be an active associate of Count von Zinzendorf, to whom he opened his home on the west side of Germantown Avenue, at what is now No. 5226. On April 18, 1742, at the close of the fifth Pennsylvania Synodal Conference, Bechtel was ordained to the ministry by Bishop David Nitschmann and authorized to "labor with the Reformed brethren who were connected with the synods." From that time on he was in full accord with the Moravians and gradually lost the support of his Germantown congregation. He and Zinzendorf prepared a catechism for the Reformed people which Benjamin Franklin printed, with Bechtel's name as that of author. The Market Square congregation finally dismissed Bechtel as pastor in 1744 because of his failure to adhere to Reformed doctrines. He then transferred his Germantown house and lot to the Brethren to be used as a boarding school. The school was opened on September 21, 1746, and Bechtel removed to Bethlehem with his wife and youngest daughter on September 24th of the same year.

334. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 104.

335. Keyser, Naaman H., *et al.*, *History of Old Germantown*, 80.

336. Levering, J. Mortimer, *loc. cit.*

337. *Bewährte Nachrichten*, III, 816-17.

338. Located at what is now 5454 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia.

na, became its teacher, and was assisted by Magdalena Müller and Anna Desmond.[339] Three men were connected with the enterprise: Anton Seiffert, John William Zander and George Neisser.[340] The school was maintained in Germantown for less than two months, when on June 28th it was transferred to the *Gemeinhaus* of Bethlehem.[341]

B. The Second Moravian School in Germantown

On January 13, 1746, eight residents of Germantown, *to wit*: John Peter Müller, Engelbert Lock, Jean de Dier, Peter Hoffman, Anthony Gilbert, Cornelius Weygandt, Marcus Münzer and Hans Gerster, in behalf of themselves and others, came to Bethlehem with a petition again to have a boarding school opened in their town.[342] The Reverend John Bechtel[343] who, through the Reverend John Philip Boehm's efforts had been thrust out of the charge at the Market Square Reformed Church which he had served gratuitously for many years, intending to remove to Bethlehem, offered the use of his Germantown house[344] and garden for the proposed school.[345] The project was submitted to a synod at Philadelphia in April, when a local committee of ten was appointed to carry it out.[346] The school was opened on September 24, 1746, as a boarding school and day school for both sexes.[347]

Six boys and girls from the Frederickstown and Nazareth schools were sent there "as a trained nucleus," to whom other children were added "one by one, so that all the untrained children might not come together all at once."[348] One of the children, speaking for the group that had been transferred from Nazareth, told his classmates in Germantown that they were much more fortunate than Jesus had been, because "after their long trip

339. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 105.

340. Scharf, John Thomas, and Westcott, Thompson, *op. cit.*, 1322.

341. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 28. Juni, 1742:*

"Brother and Sister Pryzelius, Brother Christian Rauch, Gotthard Demuth and his wife Regina, single Brother Valentin, single Sisters Anna Hummel and Elizabeth Braun arrived today in two wagons, with the children from the Germantown school."

342. Reincke, Abraham, *op. cit.*, 98.

343. *Cf.* footnote 333, p. 170.

344. At what is now 5226 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

345. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 207.

346. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 15. April, 1746.*

347. Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia, September 24, 1746.

348. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 6. Juni, 1746.*

from Nazareth they again found a fine home in the Germantown school, while our blessed Lord found nowhere to lay His head."[349] After the initial group of boarding pupils was established, Brother Spangenberg and Adolph Meyer came from Bethlehem "to consult with those parents who wished to send their children to the day-school department of the Germantown school.[350] A month later "the day pupils were cultivating fine taste for religious songs, and enjoyed so much listening to the boarding pupils sing them."[351] By April of 1747 there were fifty children in attendance,[352] more than half of whom were boarders, including two Mohegan Indian girls.[353] Two of the Philadelphia boys were Nathaniel Evans who later became a clergyman in the Anglican church, and Lazarus Stow, subsequently an officer in the Continental service during the Revolution. At an "exceedingly happy lovefeast," it was made known to them that "Mary Rosin was their eldress, Betsy Horsfield their supervisor, Martha, the Indian, their stewardess, and Sally Price, their helper.[354] Other supervisors and instructors associated with the school during its existence of less than three years were Jasper and Elizabeth Payne, John and Rosina Michler, John and Mary Schaub, James and Elizabeth Greening, John and Susanna Levering, John Leinbach, John Christopher Heyne, Peter Schner, John Turner, Anna Marie Boerstler, Judith Nickel and Molly Waters. Brother Gottschalk inspected the school frequently, and supervised the instruction after he had introduced the Jena method[355] on October 3, 1747.[356] One of the most faithful patrons of the school was the widow of Michael Leibert, Barbara Leibert, whose son was boarded and educated there from November 13, 1746 to May 6, 1749.

At a Moravian conference early in 1748, it was suggested that "we start a girls' boarding school in Germantown, similar in pattern to the one for boys which we have in Frederickstown."[357] It was decided to remove the boys from Germantown to Oley.[358] On February 5, 1748,

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349. *Ibid., den 24. September, 1746.*
350. *Ibid., den 30. September, 1746.*
351. *Ibid., den 31. Oktober, 1746.*
352. Reincke, Abraham, *loc. cit.*
353. Keyser, Naaman H., *et al., loc. cit.*
354. Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia, May 4, 1748.
355. *Infra*, 302ff.
356. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 3.* and *den 27. Oktober, 1747.*
357. *Ibid., den 19. Februar, 1748.*
358. Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia, February 6, 1748.

> . . . in the forenoon the following persons met in our *Gemeinhaus* in Philadelphia: Br. and Sr. Francke, Br. and Sr. Schütthelm, Mrs. Sturgeon and her son Cornelius, Sr. Leibert, Br. Süssholtz, all of whom have boys in the Germantown school. To these Antes made known that Germantown was from the very first beginning intended for a girls' school[359] but that the Brethren had out of necessity taken also some boys to Germantown, till such times, that the *Gemeinhaus* in Philadelphia was finished, where a school could be kept. And now since the house was most finished, the Brethren thought it now the time to make an alteration, and to remove the boys from Germantown. But since the Brethren knew very well that some parents would be unwilling to take their children to town again, they therefore resolved to let the children's parents have their choice, either to take their boys home to Philadelphia or to send them to Oley, in the school, where there is more room at present than in any of our schools. The parents listened very attentively, and seemed all unwilling to have their children home again but rather desired unanimously to have their children continue in the care of the Brethren at Oley. Afterwards Br. Antes and Br. Greening went to Mr. Franklin to enquire what he would do with his sister's son, Benjamin Croker, that had been hitherto in Germantown.[360] They both were very much for it, that he might go with the rest to Oley, and promised in a very free and complaisant way, that they would provide him from time to time with all necessaries. After dear Br. Antes had settled some outward affairs, he went home again to Bethlehem, and Br. Reincke conducted him as far as Germantown. Here the children were acquainted at a Lovefeast with the boys' going to Oley, at which they were mightily rejoiced, and exceedingly willing to go; *i.e.*, those boys whose parents were willing that they should go. But the others grieved and lamented very much.[361]

These boys—eleven of them—were transferred to the Oley school on February 22, and were later replaced in Germantown by twelve older girls whom Br. Francke brought from the school at Nazareth "in accordance with the plan which is being evolved in our Germantown boarding school. Three girls from the Maguntsche school will go there with them."[362] During the year between this transfer of pupils in May of 1748, and May of 1749, when the Germantown school was forced to close because of finan-

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359. A plan had been projected at a synod held in Frederickstown in October, 1742, to establish a boarding school for boys in Philadelphia, and one for girls in Germantown.

360. Benjamin Crocker, nephew of Benjamin Franklin, went to Oley school in February of 1748, but remained there only until June 23rd following, when he was transferred to Frederickstown.

361. Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia, February 5 and 6, 1748.

362. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 6. Mai, 1748.*

cial burdens,[363] it was almost exclusively a girls' boarding school.[364] The fourteen girls who were there at the end were brought to Bethlehem, and eleven of them were placed in the vacant Ysselstein House[365] on the south side of the Lehigh River.[366] The other three joined the older girls' choir.[367]

C. The Early School of the First Moravian Congregation of Philadelphia

The Count Zinzendorf had made such a great impression upon the Lutherans in Philadelphia that they named him pastor of their church located near Fifth and Arch Streets.[368] When dissension within the church led to the assault on Brother John C. Pyrlaeus, Zinzendorf's assistant, the latter secured for his followers among the Lutherans "a lot at the southeast corner of an avenue, between Second and Third Streets, running south to Arch Street, of 35 feet on Sassafras (Race) Street, by 102 feet on the avenue or Moravian Alley (later Bread Street).[369] The deed for this plot was dated August 20, 1743;[370] and its use was declared to be vested in

> . . . a certain congregation of Christian people, as well German as English, residing in the city of Philadelphia, belonging to the Church of the Evangelic Brethren, who have caused to be erected thereon a new building, for and in their use and service as a church and schoolhouse.[371]

The corner-stone of the church was laid on September 10, 1742 by the Count, and the construction proceeded so rapidly that the new building was dedicated by him on November 25th of the same year.[372] On January 12, 1743 the first Moravian congrega-

363. "The Ledger of the Germantown School" shows accounts with the families of a few boys who were boarded in the school up to its closing. One of these pupils was Michael Leibert, whose account with the school is entered in the "Ledger" from November 13, 1746 to May 6, 1749.
364. Levering, J. Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 232.
365. *Supra*, 48.
366. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 24. Mai, 1749.*
367. *Ibid.*
368. Reincke, Abraham, *op. cit.*, 69.
369. Ritter, Abraham, *History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia*, 41.
370. Godcharles, Frederic A., *op. cit.*, 513.
371. Declaration of Trust to S. Lewis Thurnstein [Zinzendorf], David Nitschmann, Joseph Spangenberg, Henry Antes, John Broomfield and Charles Brockden, April 22, 1746.
372. Watson, J. F., *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Times*, I, 324.

tion of Philadelphia was formed with thirty-four members.[373]

In accordance with the Brethren's invariable custom, those in Philadelphia, on finding themselves thus firmly established, turned their attention to educating the children of members of their communion and of others attached to their church. The "Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia" records the following events which led to the establishment of a congregational school on March 29, 1748:

> April 2, [1746]: This afternoon we had a Particular Conference about ye Children's matter. Many things there were discoursed and considered about ye school intended.
>
> April 8. Br. Spangenberg spoke also concerning ye Boarding School[374] which at present must be Deferr'd since ye Bn. could not go before ye Lamb, but their blessing was simply to follow Him; but ye Bn. would not forget it, and Br. Joseph [Spangenberg] also recommended to their consideration to build a School House near ye Church; and ye Bn. who were present unanimously approved Bn. Evans and Yarrell together with Br. Stow for their Helper to be Committees for ye Oversight and carrying on of this Building. Our Lamb made this meeting very sweet with His Blood-Grace, and everyone testified their approbation and willingness to help in ye Building.
>
> April 11: In the evening Br. Yarrell kept a service for ye Publick, and afterwards ye Bn. and Srs. in ye Congregation and John Worrall came over to our house and had a Love feast together, where everyone told what they thought they could contribute to ye Building. They were chearfull [*sic*] and Willing tho' their ability for ye most part was Small.
>
> June 30: Today the Bn. began to dig out ye foundation of ye House by ye Church. There were 70 loads of Dirt. I have measured ye Cellar and what it would cost us to dig and carry it away. It is 10, and we shall do it in 3 days.
>
> July 2: Today at 4 o'clock we kept a Lovefeast in ye Church with those Bn. that helped to dig out ye Cellar, it being now ready.
>
> October 17: We have bought about 6000 foot of board for our house.
>
> November 24: 1500 Bricks came in for our Building.
>
> November 27: We bought 3700 foot of board and 2150 shingles for our house.
>
> September 12, [1747]: We moved directly into the new House, although nothing more is finished but the ground floor.
> September 17: We visited the Betsons and told them of our Day School.

373. Ritter, Abraham, *op. cit.*, 49.

374. Such a school had been proposed at the 8th Synod, held on October 16, 1742, in Frederick Township, at the home of Henry Antes.

February 26, [1748]: We discoursed very much about our School and wished that we might make a right beginning of it, that it may afterwards need no alteration. We begged our dear Lamb to help us herein.

March 21: Afterwards we had a Conference with our dear Br. Antes concerning our School, wherein we agreed to begin the School next week in the Name of our dear Saviour and to begin with such Children as have been in the Brethren's schools formerly, to keep school two hours in the Forenoon for the Boys and two hours in the Afternoon for the Girls, and if the Brethren desired it to have their Children learn German, also to begin a German-school one hour every day for the Boys and one hour for the Girls; to tell the parents of our plan in keeping school, which is 1) that we don't nor can't keep school all the day long as other School-masters, partly because the children are tired out with so much schooling, partly because our other Affairs will not allow of it. 2) That we don't teach the Children Christianity, this being only the Work of the Holy Spirit. But that when He opened the Children's Hearts, we then would do for them as our Saviour directed us. 3) That we don't make the Bible a School-book, nor suffer the Children to learn to read out of the Bible, this book of God being too weighty to us, as to expose it to the Danger of being made contemptible to the children, as all School-books generally are. We agreed likewise to make use of the English *Guide*, till such times that we could have a better Book. We felt our dear Saviour's near presence in this our Conference. Bn. Antes and Abraham went to see Evans and Betsons and told them of the beginning of our school, at which they seemed to be exceeding glad, and desired that their Children should learn German and English.

March 29: We began this forenoon our school in the Name of the Lamb very solemnly. The names of the Boys that came were Jacob Worrell, Samy and Thomy Bedson, and Billy Dougherty; in the afternoon we began in the same manner with the girls, *viz:* Becky Bedson, Juliana and Mary Serfass, Polly Moore, and Patience Story.

The building was a rectangular *Gemeinhaus*, measuring thirty by thirty-five feet, and two and a half stories high. It had four rooms on the first floor and six smaller rooms on the second. It was used not only for school purposes, but also to house the resident minister and teacher, and as a stopping-place for missionaries and out-of-town Brethren who might come to the city on business or pleasure.[376] The first teachers in charge of the school were Brother John Gambold, and Eleanor, his wife, to whom "the Saviour gave particular Grace" and to whom "the school-

375. Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia, April 2, 1746—March 29, 1748.

376. Philadelphia had about 13,000 people and 1500 houses at that time.

children came with the greatest delight and pleasure.''[377] By the close of the first year, the school consisted of eight boys and eight girls[378] and a class in German had been begun by Gambold ''to the joy of both the children and their parents.''[379] On October 6, 1749, an evening school for Negroes was begun.[380]

With Brother and Sister Gambold's departure on May 6, 1750, the Moravian school in Philadelphia was discontinued.[381] It was re-opened on November 26, 1753, with eleven boys, most of whom had recently been returned to their homes in Philadelphia from the disbanded school in Maguntsche.[382] Before the end of the year there were fifteen boys in attendance. Brother Abraham Russmeyer was the teacher,[383] and the school was conducted entirely in German.[384] The admission of girls and the introduction of the English language were already being considered before

377. Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia, April 1, 1748.

378. *Ibid.*, December 14, 1748. One of these girls was Marianna Hoeth, who wrote autobiographically: "My parents emigrated to America in 1748, when I was 11 years old. They first settled in Philadelphia, where my father established a bakery. In this city the Brethren had organized a congregation several years previously, and in connection with it a school. My parents entered into close fellowship with this congregation, without actually joining it, and sent us children to the school, believing that we could not elsewhere be better cared for, nor placed under more salutary spiritual surroundings. At first their hopes and expectations were realized, for, under the nurture of the Brethren, I learnt to know and love Jesus, and often prayed earnestly to Him to make me a partaker of His salvation. But we were exposed to other influences, and my sinful heart sometimes yielded to evil promptings, and in spite of the seclusion in which we were kept at the school, both my sister and I gave way to the world and its allurements, and our parents observed with deep solicitude the frivolity which filled our youthful hearts. Therefore our father determined to leave Philadelphia and to settle beyond Bethlehem, in the domain of the Indians above the Blue Mountains." Hoeth's plantation, located a few miles to the south-west of Dansbury (Stroudsburg) and near present-day Gilbert in Monroe County, and its occupants were destroyed by Indian hostilities in 1755. *Supra*, 162.

379. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1748.

380. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1749.

381. This was at least partly due to competition with the Episcopalian school conducted in the nearby Christ Church by Mr. William Sturgeon, alluded to in the "Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia," March 18, 1750 and July 19, 1751.

382. *Ibid.*, August 13, 19, 21, and November 26, 1753.

383. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 5. Dezember, 1753.*

384. *Ibid., Extract eines teutschen Briefs von Br. Rogers, den 5. Dezember, 1753.*

the close of the year.[385] In 1756, Brother Jasper Payne conducted an English school with boys from eight o'clock until ten in the morning, and from two o'clock to four in the afternoon. The girls were taught, likewise in English, by his wife Elizabeth from ten o'clock to noon.[386] Brother Payne was succeeded by Jacob Rogers in February of 1758.[387] In 1759, a serious epidemic of measles struck in and near Philadelphia, causing the school to close for the second time.[388]

On September 27, 1762, John Daniel Sydrick, a single brother from Bethlehem, came to Philadelphia to open "a German and English school for boys."[389] He was succeeded by Brother Gottfried Rundt on June 29, 1763.[390] This school must have closed soon thereafter, for no reference to any kind of school in conjunction with the first Moravian congregation of Philadelphia can be found in any of the records between that date and 1824, when Bishop Hupfel recommended to the Provincial Helpers' Conference "the establishment of a day school in Philadelphia,"[391] but the proposal was rejected.[392]

The Sunday School of the First Moravian Church of Philadelphia seems to have absorbed some of the day school's studies and activities long before the close of its parochial school. Count Zinzendorf gathered crowds of neglected children from the streets of Philadelphia and zealously addressed and catechized them on Sunday afternoons.[393] In 1744, four years before the establishment of the congregation's first day-school, Sister Elizabeth Greening organized a Sunday school of thirty-three children, who "were gathered from the neighborhood, to keep them from running about the streets, and to receive religious instruction."[394] This was several decades before the date of Robert Raikes' famous

385. Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia, December 5, 1753.

386. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1756.

387. *Ibid.*, February 19, 1758.

388. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Beilage für Februar, 1759.*

389. *Ibid., Memorabilia der Stadt- und Landgemeinen, 1762.*

390. Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia, June 29, 1763.

391. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 6. Oktober, 1824.*

392. Warner, Paul T., "History of the First Moravian Church, Philadelphia, Pa.," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XIII, 82.

393. Michael, Oscar S., *The Sunday-School in the Development of the American Church*, 45.

394. Faris, John T., *Old Churches and Meeting Houses in and around Philadelphia*, 115.

school in Gloucester, England, usually looked upon as the beginning of the Sunday school movement.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the references to "Sunday children's meetings" in the "Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia," increased in proportion to the decreased mention of day-school matters. In the "Diary" for 1760, we read:

> Sunday, October 5: We had a pretty children's meeting and found out that many of them can sing prettily. I [Brother Rogers] gave them a verse to learn against the next meeting.
> Sunday, October 12: The children's meeting was sweet and agreeable. They sang the verse given them last week. Gave them another English verse, also a German one with English translation.
>
> Sunday, October 19: They said their verses which I had given them prettily and sang them with me tolerably. I then gave them a printed verse for this week, which pleased them exceedingly.
>
> Sunday, October 26: The printed verses are a great delight to the children which they learn by heart and sing also prettily. They begin to get the tunes.

The same document for 1761 continues in part:

> April 12: There were 60 children at the Sunday children's meeting and they sang two of their German verses.
>
> August 2: Today we stopped distributing printed verses to the children, lest they become a mere matter of habit. By this time they have received 40 selected English stanzas and know them all by heart.
>
> October 16: We discussed with the Church Council the possibility of having a mid-week meeting with our children similar to the Sunday one.

In 1786, the children "had a Saturday meeting as well as one on Sunday."[395]

Although systematic religious instruction had already been carried on in the Philadelphia congregation for many years, a "Sunday School Society" was organized there on November, 1820,[396] evidently to make such instruction more effective and comprehensive and to conduct the work in accordance with the most approved methods of the times. Brother Jacob Ritter became the president of the Society, which named eighteen teachers, twelve female and six male.[397] The Society agreed that "the

395. Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia, 1786.

396. Warner, Paul T., *op. cit.*, 81.

397. Diary of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia, Sunday School Society Notes, 1820.

School should commence on Sunday, 26 instant, at 9 o'clock in the morning and at ½ past 1 in the afternoon, and that the Board of Managers and Officers agree to furnish as many scholars as are within their control."[398] On motion, Brother Van Vleck and Jacob Ritter were appointed for the purpose of procuring books and supplies for the use of the pupils.[399] Instruction was given "in the alphabet, in Spelling, in Reading, in committing to memory selected portions of the Scriptures, Hymns and Catechism."[400] During the presidency of Brother Van Vleck in 1821, the system of distributing red tickets as a merit award for proficiency in scholarship was initiated. It was resolved that an examination of the pupils take place on the first Sunday in October, 1821, and that Sister Smallwood, Brother Ritter and Brother Peter be a committee to ascertain the number of red tickets to be distributed as rewards among the children, and to procure suitable books and tracts for their redemption.[401] Such examinations seem to have been given semi-annually, usually in May and November. The textbooks mentioned in connection with the Sunday school were the New Testament, a catechism, a hymnal published by the American Sunday School Union[402] "at a cost of 4½ cents to the pupil," a spelling-book, and "Alphabetical Cards" issued by the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union.[403] The Sunday School library at the First Moravian Church of Philadelphia contained over 163 volumes in 1832.[404]

XII. York County

A. The Moravian Schools at Kreutz Creek and York

One of the results of the synod which the Moravians convened in October of 1746 in the house of Jacob Westhaeffer in their small settlement along Grist (Kreutz) Creek was the appointment

398. Report from the Officers and Managers to the Sunday School Society of the United Brethren's Church at Philadelphia, 1820.

399. Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia. January 3, 1821.

400. Report from the Officers and Managers to the Sunday School Society of the United Brethren's Church at Philadelphia, May, 1821.

401. Diary of the Moravian Church of Philadelphia, August 2, 1821.

402. The American Sunday School Union was instituted on May 25, 1824. Its charter was at once adopted by the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union, of which the First Moravian Sunday School of Philadelphia was an auxiliary.

403. *Report of the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union*, May, 1832.

404. *Ibid.*

of Christian Henry Rauch as evangelist for the region south of the Susquehanna River, and of Abraham Bünninger and his wife Martha, "who were to attend principally to the education of the farmers' children."[405] From the "York Diary" of December, 1746, it is ascertained that "Brother Bünninger converted an old sheep-stable, belonging to Bernhard Immler and located about a mile out of town,"[406] into a schoolhouse, where he was now ready to begin his school with twenty children.[407] The next day's entry in the same document states that "Brother and Sister Bünninger moved into their newly-renovated schoolhouse and took in four children whom they will board and lodge there permanently."[408]

In the fall of 1748 the Bünningers were transferred into the town (York), where in the spring of that year the Moravians had taken over the one-room house of John Heckedorn as a chapel, schoolroom and dwelling.[409] The school at Kreutz Creek continued to function for a while under the tutelage of Brother and Sister Hantsch,[410] but seems to have merged with the town school in Heckedorn's house before the Synod of 1752 granted to York the status of *Ortsgemeine* or "town congregation." The York school had "upwards of twenty children" in November of 1751 when Brother and Sister Philip Meurer came there.[411]

On March 2, 1752, during an official visit by the Reverend (later Bishop) Nathanael Seidel, a consultation took place on the subject of building a *Gemeinhaus* at York. On March 4th, Philip Rothrock, a member of the Moravian congregation, reported that "a good two-story house with a spacious room that would serve as a place of worship and two other rooms on the first floor, could be rented from a tavernkeeper, Christian Croll," and proposed that this house be secured and fitted up for church and school purposes. The plan was adopted and the house which was formally taken possession of on October 8, 1752, was the meeting-house, parsonage and school-house of the York Moravians until December, 1755.[412] The school was under the direction

405. Hagen, E. S., A Brief *Ms.* History of the Moravian Church at York from 1744 to 1899, n.p.
406. In Grantley on the Codorus Creek.
407. *Diarium d. G. z. Yorktown, den 18. Dezember, 1746.*
408. *Ibid., den 19. Dezember, 1746.*
409. Hagen, E. S., *loc. cit.*
410. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 28. November, 1748.*
411. *Ibid., den 1. Dezember, 1751.*
412. Hagen, E. S., *loc. cit.*

of Brother and Sister Meurer until 1753, and under that of Brother and Sister Engel until 1755.

The corner-stone of the new *Gemeinhaus* was laid on April 24, 1755 by Bishop Matthew Hehl, Moravian superintendent of the district to which York belonged on the two lots at Princess and Water Streets, secured at the beginning of that year through proprietary patent by John Heckedorn and conveyed by him, August 26, 1756, to Timothy Horsfield of Bethlehem and others as trustees.[413] This stone *Gemeinhaus* was dedicated on December 20, 1755, "to the Lord . . . and to the Instruction and good for the Youth of such families who entrust themselves into the care of the Brethren, by the Help and for the use of the families here united with the Brethren."[414] The school in Christian Croll's property was immediately transferred to its new quarters on the first floor of the new *Gemeinhaus.*

The "Children's Diary for 1756" reviews the chief events of that year as follows:

> . . . We refreshed the children's memories with a review of all the favors which the Lord had bestowed on them this year, for example:
>
> 1) He gave them such a beautiful new schoolhouse;
> 2) He had 105 copies of a very precious little song-book sent to them from Bethlehem;
> 3) They were visited four times by *Kindereltern* from Bethlehem: the Grafs, the Ettweins, and Br. Jacob Till;
> 4) They had had four large Lovefeasts and several prayer-days;
> 5) The school was increased by ten children;
> 6) They had been given Br. and Sr. Neisser as their teachers to replace Br. and Sr. Engel; and also Br. Soelle as a helper.[415]

The school seemed to have prospered during the second half of the eighteenth century, when its enrollment ranged from twenty-one children in 1760[416] to fifty in 1796.[417] During these years it was taught by Brethren and Sisters George Neisser, Schlegel, Melchior Schmidt, Lindemeyer, Krogstrup, Schweisshaupt, Roth and Hübner.

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413. *Ibid.*

414. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem. Beilage von dem Besuch Matthew Hehls and Ettweins an die Kinder in den Landgemeinen. April 1755.*

415. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Kinderdiarium fürs Jahr 1756.*

416. *Ibid., den 6. Juli, 1760.*

417. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Beilage, Extract der Landegemeinen, März, 1796.*

Taken from Samuel Reinke's *Twelve Views*

THE MORAVIAN SCHOOL AT YORK, 1836

In 1799, Brother Reinke reported that the school was declining "because the children lived in places so far removed from the school-house."[418] However, it seems to have continued to function

418. *Protocoll einer Conferenz der Helfer der Stadt- und Landegemeinen, Lititz, den 7. und 8. Mai, 1799.*

at least to 1836, for, although a new church building had been constructed nearby on the corner of Princess and Water Streets in 1828, "the old stone *Gemeinhaus* continued to be occupied as a parsonage and to be used as a school to that day."[419]

XIII. Moravian Influence in Non-Moravian Educational Institutions

A. A Private-Venture School at Rittersville

Rittersville, located in Hanover township about three miles northwest of Bethlehem, was named for Michael Ritter who came from Northampton County in 1808, purchased land and settled there. A schoolhouse was erected in the settlement about 1812, and school was kept there irregularly until Hanover township accepted the School Law of 1835.[420] The children of the few families living between Bethlehem and Allentown crossed the Lehigh River and attended the school at Rittersville.[421] Jacob Geisinger, who was born in 1798, says that when he was about eleven years of age, he attended school at Rittersville, which was taught by Joseph Rice, a Moravian. He was a pupil there for one month, and "crossed the river in a canoe which was about twenty feet long."[422]

B. A Moravian Element among the Founders of the University of Pennsylvania

Benjamin Franklin, in his *Autobiography*, states:

> . . . In 1739 arrived among us from Ireland the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher. He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches; but the clergy, taking a dislike to him, soon refus'd him their pulpits, and he was oblig'd to preach in the fields . . . And it being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air, subject to its inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in was proposed.[423]

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419. Reinke, Samuel, *op. cit.*, n.p.

420. Matthews, Alfred, and Hungerford, Austin N., *History of the Counties of Lehigh and Carbon*, 266.

421. *Ibid.*, 410.

422. *Ibid.*, 404.

423. Franklin, Benjamin, *Autobiography*, 251.

A subscription was started in Philadelphia in 1740 for this "house" in which Mr. Whitefield and other non-sectarian ministers and evangelists might preach, and in which a free school for poor children was to be established.[424] A group of men, several of whom were members of the Moravian congregation in the city of Philadelphia, took the initiative in this subscription towards the building for an evangelical hall and charity school.[425] The building was erected in 1740 near Fourth and Race Streets and was for many years the largest in Philadelphia.[426]

Benjamin Franklin wrote his *Proposals for the Education of Youth* in 1749, which led to the founding of the Academy that ultimately became the University of Pennsylvania. The new school so flourished that it was soon to look out for a piece of ground, properly situated, when "Providence threw into the way a large house ready built, which, with a few alterations, might well serve the purpose."[427] This was the building erected for Whitefield in 1740, by the funds for which the Moravians had been among the first to subscribe. Franklin's *Autobiography* goes on to show how his Academy Board secured control of the building, the charity school never having functioned:

> . . . It is to be noted that the contributions to the building being made by people of different sects, care was taken in the nomination of trustees in whom the building and ground was to be vested, that a predominancy should not be given to any sect, lest in time the predominancy might be a means of appropriating that whole to the use of such sect, contrary to the original intention. It was therefore that one of each sect was appointed, *viz:* one Church-of-England man, one Moravian, etc. These, in case of vacancy by death, were to fill it by election from among the contributors. The Moravian happened not to please his colleagues, and on his death, they resolved to have no other of that sect. At length one mentioned me, with the observation that I was merely an honest man, and of no sect at all, which prevailed with them to choose me.[428]

This made Franklin a trustee of both institutions, and thus the 1740 building and charity school were absorbed by the Academy

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424. Nitzsche, George E., "Moravian Influence in Founding the University of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania-German*, VIII, 302.

425. Cheyney, Edward Potts, *History of the University of Pennsylvania*, 22.

426. Nitzsche, George E., *op. cit.*, 305.

427. Franklin, Benjamin, *Autobiography*, 276.

428. *Ibid.*, 276.

which became the University of Pennsylvania.[429] The building was used by the University up to 1802.[430]

While Franklin has come to receive almost full credit for the founding of the Philadelphia Academy, it is probable that Dr. Francis Allison[431] had an influence upon the development of the plan as Franklin conceived it.[432] Professor Allison of Philadelphia, together with four students and a Captain, visited the Bethlehem girls' school especially to observe the pupils there,"[433] and thus it may be true that the Moravian Seminary at Bethlehem influenced the program of the Academy.[434]

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429. Sypher, Josiah R., *School History of Pennsylvania*, 302.

430. Nitzsche, George E., "Moravian Towns in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania-German*, XII, 322. In another article Mr. Nitzsche appraises the Moravian influence in the founding of the University as follows: "Although a number of denominations were represented among the subscribers to the original building of the University, those of the Moravian faith seem to have predominated, and while they are not the actual founders of the University, the Moravians may at least claim that they were largely instrumental in making it possible. It would seem fair, therefore, in writing up historical sketches of the Moravians and their work in America, to include the University of Pennsylvania among the landmarks such as Nazareth Hall, Moravian Seminary and College, and Moravian Seminary for Girls, all of which are among the earliest educational institutions in the United States and of which the Moravians have many reasons to be proud." (Nitzsche, George E., "Moravian Influence in Founding the University of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania-German*, VIII, 305.)

431. Dr. Allison, who afterwards became a Presbyterian minister of eminence and Vice-Provost of the College for nearly twenty-five years, was rector of Franklin's Academy.

432. Mulhern, James, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, 175.

433. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 30. August, 1759.*

434. It may likewise be true that the Moravian Female Seminary at Bethlehem also influenced the erection of the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia, the first girls' school to receive a charter in Pennsylvania (1792). William Woodbridge assigns such credit to the Moravian Seminary (*American Journal of Education*, V, 421-3), and Thomas Woody, in his *Women's Education in the United States*, I, 333, states: "It is certainly true that many girls from Philadelphia were educated there; and Rush, Morgan and others were undoubtedly aware of the importance of the Bethlehem School." The extant manuscript correspondence of Dr. Benjamin Rush (in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) bears out his intimate acquaintance with the Moravian Seminary.

C. The Moravians' Rôle in the Founding of Franklin College, Lancaster

The charter which was granted to Franklin College in Lancaster on March 10, 1787, by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, prescribed that the board of trustees of that college and charity school should consist of fifteen Lutherans, fifteen Reformed, and that "the remainder be chosen from any other society of Christians."[435] Brother John Herbst, who was then serving as the minister of the Moravian congregation in Lancaster, was named as trustee.[436] The following letter, in the handwriting of Henry Helmuth, Secretary of the Board of Trustees, was sent to Brother Herbst by the Philadelphia members of the Board of Trustees of Franklin College, inviting him to deliver the English prayer at the dedication of the College:

Philadelphia, March 19th
1787

To the Rev. Mr. Johannes Herbst
in Litiz!

Esteemed Pastor
Valued Friend

The trustees of the German High School request the aforesaid that he will have the goodness to deliver the prayer in English before the Altar of the Lutheran Church, as noted in the consecration Actus. It would be very acceptable if in this prayer, in particular, the honor of our dearest Saviour, as the Son of God should receive *exaude*. The more the praise of His Godhead in our peculiar times shall be poured forth, so much the more shall the Christ Himself, be justly extolled in all places. Many to whom it gives joy that a German University is now to be erected in Pennsylvania, find their hearts rejoicing over it, and justly pray in private: 'Ah! Lord Jesus! Be Thou, Thyself, built into the same.' For what would all the learned improvements help our Germans if they do not become Christians thereby, but rather should be brought nearer to a polished heathendom.— And since, in your congregation this rather singular article may be questioned, it might be held advisable to give them the earnest charge to think first of the Lord Jesus, mentioned above, and we doubt not your heart will be high in this commission.

You, together with the other fellow Trustees in Lancaster, must not take it amiss that the undersigned have taken on themselves the arrangement of the consecration, in that today, for the first time, a *quorum* was made up in Philadelphia, and the origin of the whole thing therefore has its source in Philadel-

435. Dubbs, Joseph H., "Old Franklin College," *Lancaster County Historical Society Publications*, II, 169.

436. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Memorabilia, 1787.*

phia; about this it would have to come from one or the other, and it is all the same whoever does it if only the purpose is unmistakable.

We are, with our best wishes,

Exteemed Pastor
Valued Friend
Your
Attentive Friends
and humble servants.

To the Pastor
of the Moravian Brethren Congregation.[437]

That Brother Herbst accepted the invitation, honored its several suggestions, and met the solemn dedicatory occasion with typical Moravian dignity and sincerity, the following prayer attests:

O Lord! Most holy, gracious and merciful Lord and God! Who has revealed Thyself unto us as Father, Son and Holy Ghost: With humble hearts we appear before Thy throne offering up unto thee our Praises and Thanks, that Thou hast granted us this happy day, on which we dedicate unto thee Franklin College. Vouchsafe, O Lord, our God! to hear the prayers of every true Christian heart, that sighs for the real prosperity of this German College, and that it may prove a work of thy hand, prospering by thy benediction, to the real benefit of this Country, namely for propagating true wisdom and knowledge to the honour of thy holy name . . . Vouchsafe to take the Government, the Support and Protection of this Institution upon thee, and to influence by thy Spirit all those, that in any wise now are or hereafter may be called to the Service of this College. Especially, O Lord! grant, that first of all true Christianity, and the Doctrines, which thy dearly beloved Son, our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ brought down unto us, be taught and set forth in this College with Integrity and in Purity, and through the same be spread abroad over these Counties, and thus, according to thy promise, the earth may be filled with the knowledge of thy glory, as the waters cover the Seas. (Heb. 2, 14.)

. . . Grant that it may boldly and steadfastly be confessed and taught in this College, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God (1 John 11, 15); that *this* is the true God and eternal life (1 John 5, 20) . . .

Now our dear heavenly Father! impart thy grace and blessing to this College, that it may prove a plant, which thou, O, Father! hast planted; grant that it may be rooted and built

437. The original of this letter is in the Archives of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, N. C. (No. 806 in their Guide). The translation of the letter which appears here was graciously prepared by Miss Elizabeth C. Kieffer, Reference Librarian, Franklin and Marshall College.

upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; and that it may grow unto an holy temple. (Eph. 2, 20, 21.)

O God our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! reveal thyself unto the Professors and Scholars of this College, now and hereafter, as the power of God, and the wisdom of God . . . Keep thy most gracious and watchful eye upon this College, and particularly upon the Youth, that shall be educated in the same. Thou hast redeemed them with thy most precious blood, they are thy property, the travail of thy Soul; let them not be plucked out of thy hand. Impart grace and power unto them, to flee youthful lusts, and prevent the spirit of seduction from gaining ground amongst them.

O Lord God Holy Ghost! Thou art the first Teacher and great Comforter of mankind. We therefore implore thee: begin and continue thy work of grace in this College. Thou art the only safe interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, who art even the Author of the same. Graciously vouchsafe to guide the Professors of this College into all truth, and to enlighten and influence them in such a manner, that they may be able to confess: Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him: but God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit; 1 Cor. 2, 9, 10, and thus never may propose to their Scholars any other Doctrine, but that, which they themselves first have learned in thy blessed School . . . Amen.[438]

An article in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 8, 1787, written by Dr. Benjamin Rush, speaks of Brother Herbst's prayer as "well adapted." Brother Herbst reported to the Provincial Helpers' Conference in June of 1787 that "the prayer which he offered in the English language at the altar of the Lutheran Church on June 6th was heard attentively by and made an impression on the large audience."[439]

Brother Herbst took part again in the formal opening exercises of Franklin College on July 18, 1787, as reported in the "Bethlehem Diary" of August 21st of that year:

. . . A letter which we received from Lancaster tells us that Franklin College was solemnly opened on July 18th with fifty

438. Prayer on the day of Dedication of Franklin College in the borough and city of Lancaster, delivered by John Herbst, Minister of the United Brethren's Congregation at Lancaster, June 6th, 1787. (The original manuscript was presented to Franklin and Marshall College by Joseph H. Dubbs, October 5, 1903. It is reproduced here through the courtesy of Mr. Herbert B. Anstaett, Librarian, Franklin and Marshall College.)

439. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 22. Juni, 1787.*

> pupils, in the presence of the professors and trustees. Brother Herbst was requested to deliver a hortatory address and a prayer in the English language.[440]

Brother Herbst continued to serve as trustee until 1813, when he was succeeded by Brother Constantine Miller, pastor of the Lancaster Moravian Church. Later the Reverend George Bahnson and the Reverend Robert de Schweinitz, pastors of the same church, served on the board 1840-50 and 1850-53, respectively. Of the lay members of the board of trustees, Adam Reigart and his son Adam Reigart, Jr., both Moravians, served 1787-1813 and 1813-1844, respectively. Brother Reichenbach was named professor of mathematics and began his services as such in October, 1787.[441]

D. Moravians in Lancaster County Academy

On April 14, 1827, the Pennsylvania Legislature passed an act incorporating the Lancaster County Academy. This school lasted until May 15, 1839, when the buildings were conveyed to the trustees of Franklin College, which reopened[442] and used those buildings until 1863, when it consolidated with Marshall College.[443] Moravians were invariably included on the board of trustees,[444] and at least one Moravian was numbered among its principals. On October 13, 1834, the Reverend Mr. Bowman, President of the Board of Trustees, announced that

> . . . Brother Charles A. Van Vleck had consented to take charge of the Academy and that he will teach the advanced Scholars in the Classics; and his Assistant, Mr. William R. Work, will give instruction in the Rudiments of Greek and Latin and all the ordinary Branches of an English Education.[445]

When Brother Van Vleck's resignation on October 23, 1735 was "accepted but more especially with respect as the services rendered by him met the approbation of the Board," the Academy "was continued in charge of Mr. Work."[446]

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440. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 21. August, 1787.*

441. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 16. Oktober, 1787.*

442. Franklin College, incorporated in 1787, prospered until 1821, when it was closed, not being reopened until 1839.

443. Clare, Israel S., *Brief History of Lancaster County*, 212.

444. The Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Lancaster County Academy include such Moravians' names as Samuel Reincke, Charles F. Reichel, Adam Reigart, and Charles A. Van Vleck.

445. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1834.

446. *Ibid.*, October 23, 1735.

XIV. Summary

In March of 1742, just one year after the first log cabin had been built and occupied where the city of Bethlehem now stands, and hardly three months after the arrival of Zinzendorf in America, at a general synod which he had called of all German evangelical Christians in Pennsylvania, held in Germantown, the Count brought up the dire need of educational facilities for the numerous neglected children in the Province. The immediate outcome was the establishment of a school for girls, which, after three months in the Ashmead House in Germantown, was transferred to Bethlehem. This project was the first impulse for further diffusion of education among the widely-scattered German settlers of both Moravian and non-Moravian affiliation. During the first decade of their settlement in Pennsylvania, 1740-1750, the Brethren established a total of sixteen schools in their *Stadt- und Landgemeinen* at Tulpehocken, Muddy Creek, North Heidelberg, Oley, Bethel, Mill Creek, Frederickstown, the Long Swamp, Lancaster, Germantown, Kreutz Creek, Emmaus, Allemaengel, Hebron, Warwick and Philadelphia, and approximately in that chronological order. Subsequent schools were founded at York (1751), Donegal (1752), Dansbury (1753), Balthasar Orth's plantation (1754), Schoeneck (1762), Gnadenhütten (1770), and Stumpstown (1785). These town and country schools were scattered over an area out of which eleven counties were subsequently formed. By 1754 they were attended by approximately 1200 pupils, of whom only about 300 were children of communicant members of the Moravian Church.

The Brethren's rural schools were invariably held in the *Gemeinhaus,* a combined church, parsonage, and school-house, and ever the religious, social and educational center of each Moravian *Landgemeine.* The curriculum was always an elementary one, including religious instruction, music, arithmetic, the reading and writing of German and later of both German and English. The school-week usually consisted of five days, Monday through Friday. Each school-day had two sessions, divided by a recess-hour at noon. The school-year was never longer than seven months, generally from October to May. In the smaller schools the minister of the congregation served also as the teacher. For the larger ones a married couple was sent from Bethlehem to take charge of the instruction. The authorities at Bethlehem watched closely over the town and country congregational schools, assuming such administrative duties as the placing, transferring and

recalling of teachers, the in-service training of personnel through itinerant supervisors and guidance counselors, the supplying of textbooks, and the co-ordinating of educational activities and instructional practices among the widely-scattered schools. Boys and girls were almost always taught in separate classes. The expenses incurred by these schools were largely paid by the local congregation from the tuition fees of both the Moravian and non-Moravian pupils.

Severe winters, poor or no roads, inadequate transportation facilities, frequent and prolonged illnesses, Indian hostilities, the parents' need for their children's services on the farm during the planting and harvesting seasons, competition with other denominational schools, and difficulty in procuring bi-lingual teachers were some of the causes for the Brethren's rural schools to decline. After 1754, the practice of admitting non-Moravian pupils was sharply diminished, although not completely adbandoned until 1771. With the advent of the nineteenth century, all but eight country congregational schools had gone out of existence, and they, too, ceased to function after 1840 when they were generally absorbed by the newly-founded common schools of their communities.

The Brethren were also associated with certain non-Moravian educational institutions of Pennsylvania between 1740 and 1840. Several Moravians were instrumental in raising funds for the building in Philadelphia which George Whitefield erected in 1740 as an evangelical hall and charity school, and which was later absorbed by Franklin's Academy, which in turn, became the University of Pennsylvania. A Moravian participated in the dedication and opening exercises of Franklin College in Lancaster, and several other Brethren were numbered among its trustees and faculty. At the Lancaster County Academy there was Moravian representation on both the administrative and instructional staffs. A school in Rittersville was conducted by a Moravian as a private venture about 1810.

Chapter VI

EDUCATION IN MORAVIAN INDIAN MISSIONS

I. The Purpose and Plan of Moravian Missionary Work Among the Indians of Pennsylvania

The Moravians came to the western hemisphere not because they were driven from home by religious intolerance or by poverty, nor in search of temporal prosperity, but rather to bring the Gospel to their unsaved fellow-men in the new world.[1] To educate and convert the heathen Indians of Pennsylvania was one of their greatest missionary endeavors; in fact, their entire organization, both in its religious and its social relation, was planned chiefly with reference to efficiency in missionary work. In his report to the congregation at Herrnhut concerning the state of affairs in Pennsylvania, Augustus G. Spangenberg wrote in 1736: ". . . Moreover there are Indians who do not willingly dwell near the Europeans; for them it may be that the hour of grace has come."[2] This report may have been directly responsible for the Brethren's mission work among the Indians of North America. Several Single Brethren resolved to venture their lives in endeavoring to acquaint the American aborigines with their Redeemer. Twelve were nominated as candidates for this mission, and one of them, Christian Henry Rauch, was sent in 1739 to superintend the enterprise.[3]

The unsaved soul, the untutored mind, and the unclean body of every American Indian were the deep concern of the Moravian apostles in the new world. They proclaimed liberty to "those captives of sin and Satan," not by means of any man-made schemes of reform, but solely through the preaching of the Cross and the regenerating power of the Holy Ghost.[4] To tame the red man was not the purpose, but rather a by-product of their missionary program. They believed that by embracing Christianity, the Indian became prepared for civilization. David Zeisberger,

1. Rondthaler, Edward, *The Life of John Heckewelder*, 37.
2. Spangenberg's "Report to the Authorities in Europe," noted in the "Diary of Marienborn," and translated by Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 104-5.
3. Loskiel, George Henry, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America.* Translated from the German by Christian Ignatius La Trobe, Part II, 7.
4. Greenfield, John "Moravian Educational Labors among the Indians," *Pennsylvania-German*, VIII, 415.

the greatest of all Moravian missionaries among the Indians, maintained:

> . . . If I have only been successful with an Indian so far as to bring him to the Cross of Christ, I have then been able to lead him by a thread wherever I pleased, and where no one with a whip could have driven him whilst in his wild and unconverted state.[5]

The Moravians' aim was conversion; their method of achieving this aim was education. To these missionaries of the Gospel, evangelization implied teaching, for "how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?"[6]

The Moravian missionaries' plan of endeavor was simple but systematic. First they sought the Indians in their own villages, conversed with them, preached to them, created an interest by proving that they could be useful to them in many ways, and then established a permanent mission with a chapel and school. A large part of the territory of Pennsylvania was thus traversed and prospected by these faithful servants of God. They also frequently gathered their converts into villages of their own, where the Christianized Indians would be free from contaminating influences of savage life, and have a fair opportunity to grow in all the Christian graces. Here the Indian inhabitants in pleasant, agricultural, self-supporting communities were divided into choirs and classes, with an organization similar to all Moravian town and country congregations.[7] The entire *cultus* of the Moravian Church was reproduced, including daily devotions, Bible-study hours, quarter-hour services, and lovefeasts. The civilizing and socializing influences of music were not overlooked by the Moravian missionaries who were even concerned to develop an appreciation of hymnody among their converts, and congregational singing and instrumental playing were the means to achieve their desired purpose.

The missionaries' time was necessarily divided between spiritual and secular duties. They preached the Gospel and administered the sacraments in houses built by their own hands, with the help of their brown brethren. They wielded "the axe as well as the sword of the Spirit."[8] All of these activities were not only

5. Rondthaler, Edward, *op. cit.*, 79.
6. *The Holy Bible, Romans* 10:14.
7. Zeisberger, David, *Diary of David Zeisberger, a Moravian Missionary, among the Indians of Ohio*, (translated by Eugene F. Bliss), I, 28.
8. Greenfield, John, *op. cit.*, 416.

evangelistic but also educational. The word "education" as applied to the Indian missions is of wide application, including not only religious instruction, arithmetic, hygiene, reading and writing in both Indian and German, and the singing of hymns in both languages; but also industrial and manual training, medical and domestic instruction, social and political science, moral and ethical philosophy. The Moravian missionaries and teachers sought the cooperation of the Indian home and Christianized parents in their educational program. Parents were instructed "to prepare their children for future happiness by impressing upon their tender minds the fact that they are indebted for their existence to a great Spirit, who gave them a purpose, a country and nourishment, and who wants worship in return."[9] Children were taught an abiding respect for their elders, who knew better than they what the Spirit desired. By listening to and imitating their elders and chiefs, they, too, could become "Wisemen." The Moravian teacher made such use of the magic power of "good" as a word, teaching the children the distinction between good and evil, not by punishment, but by precepts and rewards.[10]

While the missionaries spared no pains to impress the heathen with the love of God, to turn him from his evil ways, to provide him with church privileges and means of instruction, yet they prudently refrained from any effort to wean him from deeply-rooted usages and practices, as long as these were not sinful or inconsistent with a Christian profession.[11] While the converts were Christians, they continued to be Indians, following the pursuits and retaining many of the useful manners and usages in which their fathers before them had engaged, or which they had observed. It was an education with a strong attachment to ancient customs.[12]

II. A Training School for Missionaries to the Indians

In order to carry out their extensive Indian program, an essential requisite for all Moravian missionaries was a thorough knowledge of the language of the people whom they intended to

9. Heckewelder, John, *History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States*, 113.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Reichel, William C., "Wyalusing and the Moravian Mission at Friedenshütten," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, I, 191.

12. Heckewelder, John, *op. cit.*, 117.

evangelize and educate, as the following instructions made clear:

> It shall be the duty of the missionaries to study the Indian languages; to train native assistants; to teach the Indians to read and to write; to translate into Delaware all the important parts of the Bible, and as many hymns as possible; to instill principles of peace in the hearts of the converts; to educate the congregation in the idea that whatever nationalities it represents and tribal distinction it embraces, the Christian Indians are all one in the Lord Jesus Christ.[13]

For the implementation of such a mandate, the authorities set up at once a training school for Indian mission service at Bethlehem on February 4, 1744, under the direction of Brother John Christopher Pyrlaeus.[14] The latter had studied the Mohawk tongue, partly among the Mohawks themselves and partly with Conrad Weiser.[15] He arrived from Europe in October, 1741, as a missionary to preach the Gospel to the Iroquois Nation. However, as a thorough knowledge of the Mohawk language was required to be able to evangelize them, Pyrlaeus went to Weiser's home at Tulpehocken in 1743, where he remained several months to study the language with that qualified instructor.[16] Having acquired the fundamentals from Weiser, Pyrlaeus then went into the interior of the Iroquois country to perfect himself in the knowledge of the tongue.[17]

When Augustus G. Spangenberg instituted the training school for Indian missions at Bethlehem, he tried to procure an Indian from Freehold as instructor; but failing in this attempt, he appointed Pyrlaeus who by that time was ably qualified for the position.[18] The group to be taught the Mohawk language consisted of eight young men, all of whom were candidates for Indian missionary service,[19] and one of whom was David Zeisberger, who

13. *MS.* Instructions to Missionaries to the Indians.
14. Levering, J. Mortimer, *History of Bethlehem, Pa., 1741-1892*, 165.
15. Conrad Weiser was so deeply interested in the success of the Indian missionary efforts of the Moravians that he accompanied them and interpreted for them on several of their missionary expeditions. Moreover, at that time, Weiser, wishing a tutor for his children, agreed to give lessons in Mohawk to Pyrlaeus in exchange for such instruction in his home.
16. Hamilton, J. Taylor, "The Contacts of the Moravian Church with the Iroquois League," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XI, 30.
17. Richards, Henry M. M., "Conrad Weiser," *Lebanon County Historical Society Publications*, IX, 184.
18. Levering, J. Mortimer, *loc. cit.*
19. Grider, Rufus A., *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from 1741 to 1871*, 22.

early the next year set out for the Mohawk country to perfect himself in that Indian language.[20] The following excerpt from Brother Spangenberg's "Application to Governor Hamilton on behalf of the Brethren Mack, Zeisberger and Rundt, for a passport to Onondaga" shows the importance the Moravian missionaries attached to a sound knowledge of the language of the Indians whom they would convert and educate, and the efforts they made to obtain such knowledge:

> . . . The United Brethren have had it at heart from their very first arrival in this country, to bring the heathen to the knowledge of their God and Saviour; but finding it not to answer their purpose to speak to them by an interpreter, they have from time to time endeavored to acquaint themselves with the languages of those Indians near whom they lived. On this account it was that the late Rt. Rev. John C. Frederic Cammerhoff about two years since, with your Honor's knowledge and passport, took a journey to Onondaga, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Zeisberger, and proposed to the Council of the Five Nations two of our Brethren coming to live among them in order to improve in their languages.[21]

III. Friedenshütten near Bethlehem

The first Christian Indian village in Pennsylvania established by the Moravians was Friedenshütten (Tents of Peace). It lay near Bethlehem, at the foot of the hill to the southeast of the present Moravian Seminary and College for Women, and consisted of a small group of log cabins erected for the converted Indian refugees who had been driven out of Shekomeko in New York and from Pachgatgoch in Connecticut. A school for the children of these Mohican Indians was in full progress by March of 1744.[22] Ever fearful of nocturnal attack by hostile Indian tribes, the Indian school children frequently "kept watch all night, but it seemed to them as an hour, because they were so happy in their thoughts of the Lord's goodness to their people."[23]

IV. Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning, 1746-1755

The authorities at Bethlehem realized the danger of maintaining a large Indian congregation so near Bethlehem, and deemed it advisable to transfer most of their brown brethren to a new

20. Zeisberger, David, *op. cit.*, I, 11.
21. Spangenberg, Augustus G., "Application to Governor Hamilton in behalf of the Brethren Mack, Zeisberger and Rundt, for a passport to Onondaga," Transcript in *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, II, 332-3.
22. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 20. März, 1744.*
23. *Ibid., den 20. März* and *den 10. Oktober, 1744.*

location further up the Lehigh River.[24] They purchased a tract of 120 acres on the north side of the Mahoning Creek, about one-half mile from its junction with the Lehigh, at the foot of the present site of Lehighton in Carbon County.[25] There in 1746 a new town was laid out. The location had probably been selected by Count Zinzendorf when, four years earlier, he ascended the Lehigh, accompanied by two Indian converts as interpreters, to hold a conference with the red-skinned dwellers of that region.[26]

The new town was named *Gnadenhütten* or "Tents of Grace." A log church was built in the valley, and on one side the Indian dwelling houses were arranged on higher ground in the form of a crescent; on the other side stood the house of the missionaries and the burying ground.[27] Christian Henry Rauch and Martin Mack were the Brethren who superintended this new missionary enterprise. The mission became a prosperous settlement and trading-post. Each family had its dwelling and tilled its own soil. In three years the congregation numbered 500 Indians of the Mohegan and Delaware tribes, and a new church had to be built, the corner-stone of which was laid in September of 1749 by Bishop John de Watteville.[28]

Gnadenhütten was a very regular and pleasant town. A sawmill erected there in 1747 enabled many Indians to earn money by cutting timber and conveying it on floats down to Bethlehem. However, hunting, fishing and agriculture remained their main support, and when the farms on the Mahoning gradually became less productive, the majority of settlers in 1754 moved their dwellings across to the north side of the Lehigh to where Weissport now stands. Here another church was built, and this settlement was named New Gnadenhütten. The first settlement continued to remain in the hands of the Brethren, who transferred their first church into a *Pilgerhaus* to serve as a dwelling for the brethren and sisters remaining there and as a stopping-place for the missionaries who passed through on their journeys to the

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24. The Indian children who remained at Bethlehem were given a few hours' instruction each day by Brother Joseph Shaw. (*Ibid., den 6.* and *den 7. Juli, 1747.)*

25. Sypher, Josiah R., *School History of Pennsylvania*, 332.

26. Matthew, Alfred, and Hungerford, Austin N., *History of the Counties of Lehigh and Carbon*, 769.

27. Egle, William H., *An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 490.

28. Davis, William W. H., *History of Bucks County, Pa.*, 607.

Indian tribes beyond. The entire mission tract now covered 1382 acres, purchased at seven different times.[29]

Although some Indian parents urged the placing of their children in the Brethren's schools at Bethlehem and Nazareth, which requests were usually granted,[30] nevertheless a school for Indians was maintained at Gnadenhütten from the very first year of its establishment. In 1746, Loskiel said:

> . . . A school of three classes, for children, boys, and young men was established this year at Gnadenhütten, and a master appointed for each class. Mistresses were also appointed for the classes of the girls and young women. The Indian youth being very willing to learn, it was a pleasure to their instructors to see their progress. A Regulation was also made for the maintenance of poor widows and orphans, who were placed in different families, and provided, as relatives, with every necessity of life.[31]

In 1747 the school was conducted by Brother Pyrlaeus,[32] whose thorough knowledge of the Mohawk language had enabled him to conduct the Bethlehem training school for Indian missionaries in 1744.[33] In 1749, arrangements were made by which Brother Hantsch conducted "a class daily with married brethren and sisters early in the morning to teach them how to read; in the forenoon and afternoon he conducted school for the little boys; in the evening he taught the young adults and the older boys."[34] Sister Jungmann taught the girls. Other teachers who served the Gnadenhütten mission during its nine-year existence were: Martin Mack, Bernhard Grube who "kept also a singing-school for the boys and young men,"[35] John Jacob Schmick, Abraham Bünninger, and George Christian Fabricius who "also composed many beautiful Delaware hymns for his pupils."[36]

With the outbreak of the French and Indian War came the horrible massacre on the night of November 24, 1755, which destroyed this flourishing Indian mission. The dwellings, the barns, the school and church were reduced to heaps of smouldering ashes. The sixteen members of the mission family, with the ex-

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29. Donehoo, G. P., *A History of Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania*, 64.
30. Loskiel, George Henry, *op. cit.*, Part II, 95.
31. *Ibid.*, Part II, 119.
32. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 25. August, 1747.*
33. *Supra*, 195ff.
34. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 29. Dezember, 1749.*
35. Loskiel, George Henry, *op. cit.*, Part II, 154.
36. *Ibid.*

ception of three who escaped and one who was carried into captivity, were either butchered or burned to death. Whatever Moravian Indians and Brethren were spared, fled precipitously to Bethlehem for asylum.[37]

In 1756, there were "eighty-two Indians at Bethlehem besides those young Indian women who lived with the single sisters, and besides the savages who were going and coming and staying longer or shorter."[38] The following excerpts from the "Bethlehem Diary" shed light on the life of these fugitives from Gnadenhütten and of other Indians harbored at Bethlehem for a two-year period under the care of Brethren Mack, Grube and Schmick:

> July 27, [1756]: In school the children were very diligent and demonstrated their earnest desire to learn.
>
> August 4: After the early morning devotional hour, school was kept. Some sisters went out to gather ears of corn; others made baskets. The boys fished, and the brethren made fence rails.
>
> December 8: Boys' and girls' classes were held. They learned the little verse: 'Help Thy Nation, Lord Jesus Christ!' Marcus and Michael were named 'overseers' of the boys.
>
> January 17, [1757]: The children were especially diligent in school. They were told about our Lord's diligence in watching over them. The brethren came home this evening with the firewood which they had split for the Economy.
>
> January 24: Most of the Indian brethren sing when out hunting. Brother Grube held a little Lovefeast in school with the boys.
>
> January *Memorabilia*: School was held very regularly and diligently this month. The boys and single brethren showed a great love for learning. In the evening they conduct a class for and by themselves, and practice singing, while Marcus plays his violin very nicely. They know over sixty German and Indian hymn stanzas by heart. One can sense the power of Grace working in their midst. They love our congregation and show promise of thriving. They are so happy to be allowed to live in the Single Brethren's House.
>
> April 15: In school one could perceive the power and love of the Lord. The children were very happy and sang their German and Indian hymns with joy. Their favorite stanza now is: 'I look up to the hills, etc.'[39]

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37. The Gnadenhütten mission tract was reoccupied by the Moravians in 1770. For an account of the second Gnadenhütten settlement and school, see pp. 130-132.

38. Report of Bishop Spangenberg to Governor Denny, Bethlehem, November 29, 1756.

39. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Beilage von den Indianern, 1756-7.*

V. Gnadenthal

During 1757, the authorities again deemed it safer for the growing Indian colony to be stationed away from the important center of Bethlehem, and took steps to scatter the mission in several directions. One portion was settled in Wechquetank, north of the Blue Mountains on a tributary of Head's Creek in present Monroe County. A second group, consisting of only four families, repaired to Gnadenthal[40] and set up "a nice little place for church and school in Wagner's shop."[41] Each family was given "an acre and a half on which to build a log-cabin and to raise corn. In the evening Brother Grube conducted a devotional service in the Delaware language."[42] On August 20th following, "the brown children were enjoying their school which they closed at the end of the day by singing German and Indian hymn stanzas."[43]

VI. Nain

The third group of those Indians who were removed from Bethlehem in 1757 was settled on a tract of land at a point about two miles to the northwest, in what is now Hanover township of Lehigh County. The village built here was called Nain. Its *Gemeinhaus,* dedicated on October 18th of that year, contained a chapel and a school, where services and sessions were held regularly until October of 1763. Among the many visitors in Nain, a very wild young Indian attracted the notice and compassion of the Brethren. He happened to be in one of the huts, when the school-bell rang, whereupon a child of three years exclaimed, "I am now going to school, to learn to sing a verse!" Hearing this, he addressed the father of the child:

> I have not yet forgiven my mother, that she took me away from the Brethren. I had a feeling of the grace of God in my heart, and, after I had left them, used in spirit to place myself among the children at school, and thought I heard them sing; but when I consider my present state, and what a bad life I lead,

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40. Early in 1745, a farm was laid out on the Nazareth tract, about one mile northwest of the Whitefield House. Six couples from Bethlehem took possession of the two-story log dwelling on December 2, 1745. No congregational school was established in this small settlement because of its proximity to Nazareth where educational facilities were available for all ages. The residents also attended church services at Nazareth.

41. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 18. Mai, 1757.*

42. *Ibid., den 20. Mai, 1757.*

43. *Ibid., den 20. August, 1757.*

> being a wild Indian, I always lay the blame to my mother. I wish to be converted, but cannot find the way. Alas! I am a wretched man![44]

On another occasion, Joshua, an Indian assistant, happening to be present when some mothers were correcting their children in a fit of passion on account of their levity and disobedience, gave them a severe reprimand, adding:

> My dear Sisters! I perceive that you have a very wrong idea of the behavior of your children. Children of God ought not to behave thus. Whence proceeds their levity and disobedience? From you; therefore you ought first to be ashamed, and to beg the Lord's pardon, praying for grace, to give your children a better example: if you become more earnest and diligent in your prayers to Him in their behalf, you will do more good than by this harshness, for they are as yet tender sprigs, and you must study the true method of rearing them.[45]

The mission was abandoned late in 1763 when the conspiracy of Pontiac and its attendant savagery induced the colonial government to remove the Nain inhabitants to Philadelphia, the capital of the Province, for safety's sake.[46]

VII. Shamokin (Sunbury)

Meanwhile, the Moravians had established Indian missions also in the territories which are now Northumberland and Monroe Counties. The first of these was at Shamokin, which had become the Indian capital of Pennsylvania in 1728, and which was the largest Indian town in the Province from 1727 to 1756.[47] When, in September of 1742, Count Zinzendorf went there for missionary purposes together with Conrad Weiser, Anna Nitschmann, John Martin Mack and his wife, Henry Leinbach, Peter Boehler, and two Christian Indians, David and Joshua, the occasion marked the beginning of white civilization in present Northumberland County.

In 1747, the Six Nations requested the Governor of Pennsylvania for a blacksmith. Anton Schmidt was sent from Bethlehem, and from that time Shamokin became a center of Moravian work on both branches of the Susquehanna.[48] A Moravian mission house was constructed in which school was held for the Indian

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44. Loskiel, George Henry, *op. cit.*, Part II, 188.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Sypher, Josiah R., *op. cit.*, 333.
47. Donehoo, P. G., *op. cit.*, 187.
48. McMinn., Edwin, *On The Frontier with Colonel Antes*, 83.

children and adults. Brother and Sister Mack, Brother John Hagen and his wife, and Brother Bernhard Adam Grube served the church and school at some time during its eight years of existence.[49] The outpost was overrun by hostile Delaware and Shawnee, following Braddock's defeat and the Penn's Creek massacre in 1755, and the mission had to be abandoned by the Brethren.

VIII. Meniolagomeka

The Moravian Indian village in present Monroe County was Meniolagomeka, which lay in "Smith's Valley," eight miles west of the Wind Gap. Bernhard Adam Grube was appointed to this outpost in the wilderness early in 1752. In a letter dated February 29, 1752, sent by him to Bethlehem with Joshua, an Indian, Grube stated: "Last week I moved into my newly-constructed hut, and today I opened my school. I am very happy with my dear brown folk.[50]

When Brother Grube was returned to Bethlehem in June, after six months of service in Meniolagomeka, the Brethren sent Brother John Joseph Bull, better known by his Indian name of Schebosh, to reside and labor there. Though not a scholar like his predecessor, he was "a true hero of the faith and a chosen instrument of God for good among the Indians."[51] He and his wife Christiana conducted meetings and school regularly. After four months, because of an accidental shooting, he was removed to Bethlehem for treatment.

Then Brother Abraham Bünninger was appointed to the mission, where "he was very happy about his school, which was so arranged that he instructed the boys, and Sister Jungmann kept classes for the girls."[52] Bünninger was frequently assisted by Brother John Joseph Schmick. On one of the latter's previous visits to the children of the school, he had insisted on their washing their hands and faces before coming to school. No sooner did he appear at his place in the school again, than they all held up their clean brown hands and showed their freshly washed faces.[53]

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49. Carter, John, "The Moravians at Shamokin, Pa.," *Northumberland County Historical Society Proceedings*, IX, 72.
50. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 29. Februar, 1752.*
51. Hark, J. Max, "Meniolagomeka—Annals of a Moravian Indian Village 130 Years Ago," *Translations of the Moravian Historical Society*, II, 139.
52. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 18. Januar, 1753.*
53. Hark, J. Max, *op. cit.*, 143.

The mission was given up in 1754, when these Delaware were given notice to vacate the settlement by Secretary Richard Peters, but were invited by the Moravians to come to Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning.

IX. Friedenshütten (Wyalusing)

In accordance with the policy of the colonial government which at that time advocated the removal of all Indians westward, the converts who had been transferred to Philadelphia[54] from Nain, were led in 1765 to "a stretch of lowland which skirts the left bank of the Susquehanna below the mouth of the Wyalusing Creek in present-day Bradford County."[55] This place the Indians had called *M'chwihilusing*, which the white man shortened to Wyalusing. When the town was rebuilt on higher ground in 1766 under the supervision of the Moravian missionaries, the name was changed to *Friedenshütten*, or "Tents of Peace."

The following entries in the *Annals of Friedenshütten* trace the development of the outpost in its early days, when David Zeisberger was the resident missionary there:

> September 8, [1765]: Brother Roth preached. We held a conference with all the male adults of the town, mainly about our chapel and dwelling, in which all expressed their willingness to assist.
>
> September 9: Began to fell and haul timber for the house [*Gemeinhaus*].
>
> November 1: Occupied our new house—a dear little house. It is 15 feet square, and has an attic and cellar.
>
> December 31: The mission consists of 146 souls.
>
> May 6, [1766]: In council today we consulted about and selected a more convenient spot for our settlement, nearer our present town.
>
> June 23: The Synod had resolved to send Brother and Sister Schmick to assist in the mission, and that the new town was to be called *Friedenshütten*.
>
> August 20: We resolved to build a larger house for ourselves.
>
> September 8: The Brethren tore down the chapel, and set it up before night, somewhat enlarged, before our new house.
>
> December 1: We number 172 souls.

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54. Although these Christian Indians were only temporarily stationed at Philadelphia, the missionary Grube began an English school with the Indian youth. (Loskiel, George Henry, *op. cit.*, Part II, 226.)

55. Reichel, William C., *op. cit.*, 179.

> January 1, [1767]: In council we resolved to build our new chapel, 32 x 22 feet.
>
> January 13: The old chapel was demolished and we began to block up the new one.[56]

This chapel, built of squared logs and covered with shingles, stood in the middle of the town plot. It housed a schoolroom in its wing. Here, in 1768, Brother Schmick "opened an English school for little boys, and Sister Jungmann began one for the girls."[57] The *Annals of Friedenshütten* continue:

> October 9, [1769]: Today being Brother Schmick's 55th birthday, I distributed English spelling books to 8 boys and 4 girls in my school.
>
> December 24 (Christmas Eve): At a Lovefeast at six o'clock this evening, 48 schoolchildren received a hymn done into Delaware, and 60 received wax tapers.
>
> December 31: Our town now has 27 log houses and 17 huts.
>
> January 16, [1770]: The Brethren cut logs for the new schoolhouse.
>
> December 20: School closed today. The scholars have been diligent in their attendance and have made commendable progress. Some write on slates and the little ones on wooden tablets. They also learn to sing Indian and English hymns.
>
> December 31: We have 172 souls in our town.
> January 1, [1771]: The Brethren blocked up [built] a schoolhouse.[58]

This new schoolhouse, a log building covered with split boards, was located next to the chapel.[59] Loskiel writes about it as follows:

> . . . It was a matter of no small joy to observe the power of the Holy Ghost among the young people, for whose use the spacious schoolhouse was built. The missionaries considered it a sufficient reward for all the trouble of instructing them, to see their good and obedient behavior, and their diligence in learning their lessons. Nor was it less pleasing to hear them sing hymns of praise to our Lord and Saviour for his incarnation, suffering and death, in Delaware and Mohican languages.[60]

The following missionaries taught at Friedenshütten during its

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56. Jordan, John W., "Annals of Friedenshütten on the Susquehanna, with John Ettwein's Journal of the Removal of the Mission to Friedensstadt," from a scrapbook in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1786.
57. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 21. August, 1768.*
58. Jordan, John W., *loc. cit.*
59. Reichel, William C., *op. cit.*, 219.
60. Loskiel, George Henry, *op. cit.*, Part III, 52.

occupation by the Moravian Indians: David Zeisberger, May 9, 1765 to September 14, 1766; John Jacob Schmick and Johanna his wife, July 7, 1766 to May 7, 1772; John Roth, assistant to Zeisberger, August 25, 1765 to June 25, 1766; and John George Jungmann and Margaret, his wife, June 10, 1769 to August 28, 1770.[61] The school continued until May 5, 1773, when "Brother Schmick and his wife bade farewell to their charges in the school and set out for Bethlehem,"[62] and the Indians to their pleasant abode at Friedenshütten because of the white men's contention for their lands. On June 11th following, the mission met for the last time for divine worship; and "140 of the settlers left with Brother and Sister Roth in 30 canoes to Northumberland and thence up the west branch, and 54 by land with Brother Ettwein to Muncy."[63] Together they went into Ohio. Friedenshütten was the last Indian station of any permanence within the borders of Pennsylvania. On their westward migration, the Moravians established missions also at Goschgoschunk and Lawunackhanna in Venango County, and at Friedensstadt on Beaver Creek. Although small and insecure, and of brief duration, these villages were equipped with a *Gemeinhaus* for church and school purposes, around which were set up the huts for believing Indians. David Zeisberger was the faithful leader, preacher and teacher in all of these stations.

X. The Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen

The Brethren's efforts to evangelize and educate the Indians of Pennsylvania were recognized and remunerated by the State legislature, which, on April 17, 1791, passed an act granting "to the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen[64] 5000 acres of land and allowance; 2500 acres to be located on the River Conneaught near the northwest corner of the State,[65] and 2500 acres on the heads of the French

61. Reichel, William C., *op. cit.*, 190.
62. Jordan, John W., *op. cit.*, May 5, 1772.
63. *Ibid.*, June 11, 1772.
64. On August 19, 1745, the "Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel" was formed. Its purpose and name were modified in December of 1751, when it became the "Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen." On February 27, 1788, it was incorporated by Act of Assembly as the "Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen."
65. The Conneaught tract, called "Hospitality," contained 2797 acres, the payment being 19 pounds, 23 shillings, 10 pence for the excess above 2500 acres.

Creek."[66] The inducement thereto, the act stated, was the fact that the Moravians had sent and supported missionaries and teachers among the Indians since 1740, and in furtherance of which cause the Society was incorporated by Act of Assembly on February 27, 1788. The organization had asked for public aid because the Indian missions had been both numerous and expensive, and hitherto had been maintained solely by the voluntary contributions of the charitable members of the Moravian Church.[67] The request was granted on the ground that the Commonwealth was

> . . . disposed to encourage all pious and charitable institutions, and the propagation of the Gospel, and the erecting and supporting of the schools among the Indian nations of America being of the first importance to this and other of the United States, and by the blessing of God conducive to the peace and security of the inhabitants and settlers of our frontiers by turning the minds of the savages to the Christian religion, industry, and social life with the citizens of the United States.[68]

The patents were dated April 14, 1795. Both tracts were subdivided and leased on "Improvement Leases"[69] by William Miles, Esq., who for many years was the Society's agent in the improvement of these grants. The lands were finally sold by the Society in 1849.[70]

XI. David Zeisberger, Missionary and Teacher

The greatest name in the history of Moravian Indian missions in Pennsylvania is unquestionably that of David Zeisberger. Whether his heroic and successful service is considered from the evangelistic or educational standpoint, his pre-eminence cannot be disputed. Born on April 11, 1721, in Moravia, he came to America in April of 1740. During that summer he labored as a carpenter in the development of the Whitefield tract at Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and afterwards assisted in the building of Bethlehem. A few years later he was appointed to accompany Count

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66. The French Creek tract, called "Good Luck," contained 2875 acres. Thirty-four pounds, 11 shillings, and 9 pence were paid for the excess above 2500 acres.
67. Sanford, Laura G., *The History of Erie County*, 296.
68. *New York Times*, July 29, 1861, 4.
69. The terms of the leases included, in general, the use of the land by the tenant for a series of years, usually seven, in consideration of clearing and fencing a small portion annually. Subsequent leases included agreement to build houses and barns.
70. *New York Times, loc. cit.*

(Courtesy of Publication Committee, Moravian Church, Bethlehem)

ZEISBERGER PREACHING TO THE INDIANS

Zinzendorf on his return to Europe. This assignment was a manifest disappointment to young Brother Zeisberger, for he is reported to have said, "I would much prefer to remain in America. I long to be thoroughly converted to Christ and to serve as a missionary to the Indians in this country."[71] His request was granted, and before the expiration of two years he had received both personal salvation and ample opportunity to minister to his brown brethren. His first mission to the Indians dates back to the beginning of 1745. He and another Moravian missionary were arrested as spies in the Mohawk Valley in New York. In their examination before Governor Clinton, the following was part of Brother Zeisberger's testimony:

> What did your Church command you to do among the Indians?
>
> To learn their language.
>
> Can you learn this language so soon?
>
> I have already learned somewhat of it in Pennsylvania, and I want to improve myself.
>
> What use will you make of the language? What is your design

71. Greenfield, John, "Moravian Educational Labors among the Indians," *Pennsylvania-German*, VIII, 417.

> when you have perfected yourself in it? You must certainly have a reason for learning it.
>
> We hope to get liberty to preach among the Indians the Gospel of our crucified Saviour, and to declare to them what we have personally experienced of His grace in our own hearts.[72]

With such apostolic spirit and purpose this young Moravian began his sixty-three years' ministry among the Indians of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Michigan, and the Dominion of Canada. He died among his beloved "brown folk" in 1808, at the age of eighty-eight years.

The great value of Zeisberger's educational labors among the Indians may be inferred from the following partial list of his literary productions:

1. *Essay of a Delaware-Indian and English Spelling Book, for Use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River.* Printed by Henry Miller, Philadelphia, 1776, 113 pp. This work embraces reading lessons, words and phrases, as also an appendix containing the Lord's prayer, the Ten Commandments, and a short Litany, all in Delaware and English. A second edition appeared in 1806, without an appendix.

2. *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Delaware Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren in North America.* Philadelphia, 1803, 358 pp. The volume contains 524 hymns translated by Zeisberger into Delaware from the English and German languages. In 1847 an abbreviated edition of this hymnal was edited by Abraham Luckenbach at Bethlehem.

3. *Sermons to Children.* Philadelphia, 1803, 90 pp. Besides seventeen discourses in the Delaware tongue, addressed to children, the volume contains "Something of Bodily Care for Children," translated into Delaware from the German of Augustus G. Spangenberg.[73]

4. *The History of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* New York, 1821, 222 pp. This is a translation into Delaware of Samuel Lieberkühn's *Harmony of the Gospels.* Zeisberger finished the translation in 1806.

5. *Verbal Biegungen der Chippewayer (Delawaren).* Leipzig, 1821. It is contained in J. L. Vater's *Analekten der Sprachkunde,*

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72. *Ibid.*, 418.

73. *Infra*, 299. The fact that the Moravians published a Delaware translation of Spangenberg's hygiene book is further evidence of their concern for the physical, as well as the spiritual, welfare of their Indian converts.

Delaware Indian and English

SPELLING BOOK,

FOR THE

SCHOOLS OF THE MISSION

OF THE

UNITED BRETHREN;

WITH

SOME SHORT HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS

FROM THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT,

AND OTHER

USEFUL INSTRUCTION FOR CHILDREN.

By DAVID ZEISBERGER.

PHILADELPHIA:

FROM THE PRESS OF MARY CIST,

No. 104, NORTH SECOND STREET, NEAR RACE STREET.

1806.

(Courtesy of Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

Part III, 1821, and gives a number of conjugations of Delaware verbs.

6. *Deutsch und Onondagaisches Wörterbuch. 7 Bände.* This is unquestionably Zeisberger's most important work, in the seven volumes of which he tried to present the entire treasury of the Iroquois language.

7. Essay toward an Onondaga Grammar, an introduction to the construction and syntax of the Iroquois language.

8. *Onondagaische Grammatica,* a complete grammar.

The following works, all of which exist in manuscript only, are preserved in the library of Harvard University at Cambridge, Massachusetts:

9. A Dictionary in German and Delaware
10. A Delaware Glossary
11. A Delaware Vocabulary
12. Phrases and Vocabularies in Delaware
13. A Delaware Grammar
14. The Litany and Liturgies in Delaware
15. Delaware Sermons
16. Short Biblical Narratives in Delaware
17. Vocabulary in Maqua and Delaware

The knowledge which exists today concerning the language and life of the aborigines of Pennsylvania is due in large measure to David Zeisberger. A considerable number of the older place names in Pennsylvania were explained by him who identified himself so closely with the Indians and spoke their dialects so fluently. Both the science of ethnography and the study of comparative philology have been appreciably enhanced through his literary and linguistic contributions to the history of the American Indians.

XII. Summary

The Moravians' program of missionary and educational activities among the Indians of Pennsylvania is one of the greatest chapters in their history. Even at the risk of their lives and property, they labored unceasingly to lead their brown brethren to a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. Education was the means which the missionaries employed in attaining their goal of Indian conversion to Christianity, and a school was maintained

in every Indian village and preaching mission which the Moravians established in the Province. The first Christian Indian settlement was located at Friedenshütten on the edge of Bethlehem, where a school was in progress by March of 1744. In their desire to transfer their Indian converts from Bethlehem, the Brethren established a center at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning in 1746, in which a school was opened at the very beginning and was maintained until a massacre ended the mission in 1755. Educational facilities for Indian children and adults were supplied at Wechquetank in Monroe County, at Gnadenthal near Nazareth, at Nain not far from Bethlehem, at Shamokin or Sunbury in Northumberland County, at Meniolagomeka in "Smith's Valley," at Friedenshütten or Wyalusing in Bradford County, at Goschgoschunk and Lawunackhanna in Venango County, and at Friedensstadt on Beaver Creek.

A knowledge of the language of the people whom they intended to educate was an essential requisite for all Moravian missionaries, for whom a training school for Indian service was opened in Bethlehem as early as 1744. The education which was applied to all Indian missions included religious instruction, arithmetic, hygiene, reading and writing in both Indian and German, industrial and manual training, medical and domestic instruction, social and political science, moral and ethical philosophy. It was, furthermore, an education with a strong attachment to ancient customs which made no attempt to wean the Indians from their deeply-rooted traditions as long as these practices were not inconsistent with Christian principles. Notable among the Moravian teachers of Indian mission schools were Abraham Bünninger, George Christian Fabricius, Bernhard Adam Grube, John Hagen, John George Jungmann, Martin Mack, John Christopher Pyrlaeus, Christian Henry Rauch, John Roth, John Jacob Schmick, Anton Schmidt and David Zeisberger. The latter translated many literary and linguistic works into the language of his beloved brown brethren whom he served for sixty-three years.

Chapter VII

THE AIMS AND CURRICULA OF EARLY MORAVIAN SCHOOLS

I. The Functions of the School in Moravian Life

If ever a system of education was precisely geared to the needs of the community, it was that of the early Moravian schools in Pennsylvania. One of the effects of the General Economy,[1] that system of management instituted in the early Moravian *Ortsgemeinen* by which each member labored for the common good, was the virtual non-existence of the family unit and of the private home. The care and education of the children, from infancy through adolescence, were the full responsibility of the Church and its schools. The latter, therefore, were not mere formal institutions of learning, but of necessity assumed the supremely important and intimate rôle of home and family, superintending the spiritual, mental and temporal needs of each of its pupils. This comprehensive function of supplying a Christian home and parental training was in great measure responsible for the breadth and depth of the education program of all Moravian schools and for the large number of brethren and sisters employed in the education of children.[2]

From its inception the Moravian Church regarded it as its calling, assigned to it by God, to preach the Gospel everywhere among Christian and heathen peoples. A vital branch in its work for the kingdom of God was always the education of all children entrusted to its care. Here the Lord opened a vast field of home missionary work, extending far beyond the narrow circle of the Church itself. "Whithersoever we bring the Gospel," said Bishop Layritz, "there we establish the school."[3] Expressing the same idea negatively, the Provincial Helpers' Conference in 1787 stated, "Where there is no school, one loses the best opportunity to bring about spiritual gain and blessing to the youth of our land."[4] Convinced that ignorance was the prolific mother of evil, the early Moravians set themselves vigorously and persistently to the

1. *Supra*, 10ff.
2. *Supra*, 12.
3. Layritz, Paul Eugene, *Betrachtungen über eine verständige und christliche Erziehung der Kinder*, 15.
4. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 25. September, 1787.*

promotion of learning that they might the more effectively strike at that worst of human ailments, sin. In this evangelical effort, the schoolmaster's desk for the early Moravian settlers was as essential a part of the Church as was the pulpit. The two were identical in function, and the Brethren considered the establishment and maintenance of both to be their Christian duty and sacred responsibility.

II. The Aims of Early Moravian Education

As a result of this two-fold object of properly caring for the children of the members who were giving all their time either to missionary service or to the work of the cooperative union in field, shop or mill, and of undertaking the education of other children entrusted to the Brethren as a department of home missionary activity, the education which the Moravian Church offered to the youth of Pennsylvania for one hundred years after 1742 was a liberal one. Its aim was the development of the whole individual, *i.e.*, the cultivation of the soul, mind and body, and in that order of importance.

The Moravian system of education was pre-eminently religious; it looked at the soul as well as at the intellect, and had in mind not only preparation for the life that was then, but for the life to come.[5] At all levels it endeavored to develop the pupils' God-given spiritual powers, and to restore, as far as possible, the image of God in each human being.[6] Children of all men, white, black and red, were to become true Christians through a living personal faith of the heart. This involved a knowledge of the misery of sin, a realization of being worthy only of condemnation, and a passion for redemption.

It was the aim of the Moravian Church to save the child not only from perdition, but as much from emptiness of mind. The early Brethren believed that "knowledge is power" insofar that educated minds are capable of exerting greater influence in society, either for good or for evil, than those of less training. But they insisted that all knowledge be pursued in the admonition of the Lord and that its acquisition go hand in hand with character-culture, and that intellectual abiliy be reared only upon a sound foundation of Christian education. The disciplinary effects of religion were considered necessary to temper the human will, purify

5. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Memorabilia, 1847.*
6. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 11. April, 1794.*

its motives, and furnish it with self-mastery.[7] Knowledge was to be used to draw out the grace of God for the work of life, and to be rendered subservient to usefulness to the Master and to society.

To implement the Moravian aim of symmetrical development through soul, mind and body, the schools' curricula included three broad areas of education experiences: religious activities, intellectual pursuits and vocational training. These spiritual, cultural and practical experiences were placed variously and appropriately along the child's course of learning through the four levels of his education life: the nursery, the primary school, the day-division or boarding-department of the academy or seminary, and the choir houses.

III. The Curriculum of the Nursery and Primary Schools

It was the custom for Moravian children to begin their school life at the very tender age of eighteen months or just as soon as they could safely be taken from the sheltering arms of their mothers whose allotted employment for the General Economy left little time and energy for the proper rearing of offspring. Almost as infants they were placed in the nursery where they would join other young children from all the colonial Moravian settlements of Pennsylvania and vicinity. The group was usually a large one, at times reaching ninety.[8] At the age of five years, some of the children who had come from outlying Moravian settlements were returned to their parents to continue their education in their local urban or rural congregational school. Circumstances led others to remain in Nazareth or Bethlehem where they joined the Boys' and Girls' Choirs, and attended the *Knäbchen- und Mädchenanstalten*, the primary departments conducted in connection with Nazareth Hall Academy or the Bethlehem Female Seminary.

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7. "The utmost Pitch of a tender Familiarity together with an awful Deference towards that amiable object, the Saviour of Mankind, being the common end the children aim at; Faith, Love, Heavenly-mindedness, and civil Honesty, are not interrupted by the growing up of the latter; but heightened by degrees, till either they are recalled early to the Presence of their Creator, or themselves appointed to serve His Will for some time upon Earth in their Turn." *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia, Report from the Committee to Whom the Petition of the Deputies of the United Moravian Churches, In Behalf of Themselves and Their United Brethren, Was Referred: Rationale of the Brethren's Liturgies, Article III*, 101.

8. *Cf.* wall plaque in the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pa.

Most of these town and country institutions were not distinctly "schools" in the modern acceptance of the term. The German word used for them all, at the time, was *Anstalt,* whose paramount purpose was close religious culture. In some cases they could be called boarding schools, and constituted separate special households and abodes of spiritual refuge. Before 1800, usually only the children of Moravian parents were accepted as boarders, the others as day scholars.[9] In all of these *Schulen* and *Anstalten,* the elementary curriculum was comprised of religious activities, music, and the fundamental processes.

A. Religious Experiences

The early Moravians regarded education not only as an aid to religion, but itself an integral part of their spiritual life. The curriculum of their schools made little distinction between secular and sacred learning. Every educational experience had the divine purpose of making the child such as God had intended him to be when He made him in His own image. From the nursery school through the theological seminary, each day was filled with countless and varied religious experiences, purposely planned to develop good and useful citizens of the Lord's kingdom. "The main purpose of our little ones' work and leisure, in their daily services in the chapel, in their classrooms, upon arising and retiring," the diarist wrote in the *Memorabilia* of the Nursery for 1757, "is to proclaim their Saviour's life and to extol their beloved Martyr's death, of which themes they never tire to hear or to sing."[10]

Die Viertelstunde, a quarter-hour devotional service, invariably opened and closed the school day in all the town and country congregational day-schools and boarding institutions.[11] The narration of Biblical stories[12] and the delivery of inspirational messages[13] by the teacher, the reading of Scriptural passages[14] and

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9. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *A History of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies, at Bethlehem, Pa. with a catalogue of its Pupils, 1785-1870,* 24.

10. *Memorabilia der beiden Kinder-Anstalten in Nazareth von dem verflossenen Jahre 1757, I. Der Nurserie.*

11. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 26. Juli, 1742; Diarium d. G. z. Lebanon, den 31. Januar,* and *den 15. Juni, 1758.*

12. *Diarium d. G. z. Lebanon, den 15. April, 1756.*

13. *Ibid., den 5. Januar, 1761.*

14. *Diarium d. G. z. Heidelberg, den 17. März, 1761.*

the recitation of Bible verses[15] and of hymn stanzas[16] by the children were regular features of these morning and evening devotions. Nor was the reading of the *Kinder-Losungen,* or *Children's Daily Texts,* omitted. These juvenile editions of the regular Moravian *Losungen*[17] were compiled by Zinzendorf for each year from 1754 to 1761, and contained brief words of Scripture which served as a guide to the children's general conduct, accompanied by a few lines from appropriate hymns that suggested the application of the Biblical truths to the youthful heart. The first collection of *Losungen* for children was *Das Loosungs-Büchlein,* printed in Germantown by Christopher Saur in 1755.[18] These daily watchwords and doctrinal texts were printed in advance of each year, and were an unfailing source of spiritual strength and blessing to both young and older pupils;[19] and were so "tasteful and interesting"[20] to them that "they would beg their teachers in the evening to give them an inkling of the next morning's *Losung.*"[21] Brother Russmeyer, teacher of the Lancaster school, wrote in March of 1757:

> . . . Because there was no school (due to a smallpox epidemic),

15. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 21. Mai, 1761.*
16. *Ibid., den 17. Februar, 1761.*
17. The first *Loosungen,* now spelled *Losungen,* appeared in 1729. A brother had been commissioned to pay house-to-house visits in Herrnhut each morning. To make these visitations more purposeful and unified, Zinzendorf prayerfully selected Bible verses or hymn stanzes for each day. These were dropped singly into a box which was entrusted to an elder of the congregation. The brother who was charged with the visiting of the day called first upon the elder, who permitted him to draw one of the cards with the content of which the visitor greeted all the members in their homes. This selection by *Loos,* later *Los,* or "lot," gave the daily texts their name of *Losungen,* which were considered the direct voice of God speaking to each human being. The first *Textbook* was printed in 1731, a wide duo-decimo volume which Zinzendorf titled *Good Cheer for the Daily Welfare of the Congregation of Christ at Herrnhut, in the year 1731, in the Contemplation of Eternal Truths new every Morning.* The selection and arrangement of the mottoes constituted an important task, to which the Count gave constant personal attention. The *Daily Textbook* has continued down to the present day in essentially the same form as it had in 1760, and is one of the oldest manuals of worship of Protestantism.
18. Three copies of this first edition are said to be in existence; one of them is in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pa. All of the children's *Losungen* are in 32 mo. form.
19. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 31. Januar, 1758.*
20. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Lebanon, den 19. September, 1758.*
21. *Ibid.*

> many children came and begged me for the *Text* of that day and of the next. The little children were so lovable! Since they could not yet read handwritten material, I made a copy of the *Texts* for them in *Fraktur-Schrift*, illuminated in red ink. The older children copied the *Texts* for themselves.[22]

The anticipated gratification of being able to enjoy for themselves the *Losungen* was sometimes a powerful motive in the pupils' desire to learn to read.[23]

The school children were included in most of the rites and ceremonies of the congregation, witnessing and participating in the numerous and varied religious events through the year of Moravian life and festivity, so that they might become imbued with the "loveliness of Christianity which the world could neither give nor take away."[24] The programs attending the many church holidays were both inspirational and educational in content, designed to bring salvation and spiritual blessing to the hearts of youth,[25] to teach the traditions and doctrines of the Christian faith,[26] and to secure the affection of the boys and girls to the forms of worship and the solemnities by which they were surrounded. In addition to Easter, Pentecost, Christmas and other days holy to Christians in general, and besides the memorial days of historic significance to the Moravian faith in particular,[27] the children had a periodic *Gemeintag*, or "Congregational Day," of their own to celebrate with a mass meeting in the chapel, featuring religious music, prayer, a sermon, reports of activities in other Moravian congregations and missions, communications from children in Herrnhut, and sometimes a resume of the main events of their own school.[28]

Lovefeasts were frequently held in the classrooms to mark some special occasion in a pupil's life, such as his birthday, his re-

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22. *Ibid., Lancaster, den 25. März, 1757.*
23. *Ibid., York and Cadorus Township, Februar, 1759.*
24. Henry, James, *Sketches of Moravian Life*, 182.
25. A proclamation of Count Zinzendorf appeared in 1743, pronouncing certain children full of devils and damned, and calling upon their parents to surrender them. *American Weekly Mercury*, August 14, 1743, 1-2.
26. The Moravian schools had no ulterior proselyting motive. Their teaching was not a matter of theological prescription or sectarian indoctrination. Christian life, rather than doctrinal completeness, was, from the earliest beginnings, the object of their effort. They insisted on a heart-religion, and despised church bigotry.
27. *Infra*, 480.
28. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 5. März, 1763.*

covery from illness, his arrival at or departure from the school,[29] or the close of a public examination;[30] to welcome a new teacher or to celebrate his leave-taking;[31] to entertain a distinguished visitor; to commemorate a religious or patriotic holiday; and to thank and praise God for deliverance from famine, pestilence or Indian attack.[32] These *agapae* had their origin in the first gathering of Christians after Pentecost, and were perpetuated in the Moravian faith to set forth by a simple meal of which all partake in common, that there is "no respect of persons before the Lord and that all believers are one in Christ, united among themselves by the closest bonds of Christian love."[33] Moravian cakes and coffee were distributed, while the children sang some of the traditional hymns of the Church or some musical instrument played a chorale.[34] They were always happy occasions "overflowing with spiritual blessing and mental relaxation"[35] and designed to blend devotional and social functions and to encourage a cheerful and gracious *esprit de corps.*

In all of the religious activities of the classroom the reading, explanation and recitation of Scripture verses and hymn stanzas occupied a prominent part.[36] That the Bible, and especially the New Testament, should be worthy of much reflection and memorization was natural to the Moravians whose religion was thoroughly Scripture-grounded and Christ-centered. It was an effective way to sow the seed of the Word of God in the tender hearts of children, and to make the redeeming truths of Christianity comprehensible and impressive. At a conference of town and country congregational workers, held in Bethlehem in 1781, it was reported that

> . . . a Bible verse which the children commit to memory can be a highly effective instructional medium to bring them to a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in this connection the recently procured *Büchlein von der Lehre Jesu und Seiner Apostel* may be very helpful. For example, the teacher can repeatedly

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29. *Diarium d. G. z. Heidelberg, den 17. März, 1761.*
30. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 11. März, 1794.*
31. *Ibid., den 10. März, 1746.*
32. *Memorabilia der beiden Kinder-Anstalten in Nazareth von dem verflossenen Jahre 1757, I. Der Nurserie.*
33. Stocker, Harry Emilius, *Moravian Customs and other Matters of Interest*, 72-73.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem. Memorabilia von Nazareth, 1737.*
36. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 17. September, 1787.*

(Courtesy of Moravian Archives, Bethlehem)

EARLY MORAVIAN TEXTBOOKS

> read aloud one of the many verses contained therein, explain its contents and implications in simple language, have the children look up the source of these truths in their Testaments, and instill a desire within the children to memorize the verse by the next session.[37]

The memorization of such *Versel* and *Sprüchel* was popular with the children who could "eagerly learn their English and German verses, take them home, and recite them to their delight and to that of their parents."[38] On the recommendation of the Synod, the Philadelphia congregation adopted the plan in 1763 of assigning weekly, for memorization, a Bible verse and a harmonizing hymn stanza, "with the truth of the contents of which the children might become aware, and give a testimony to the public on their special festive days."[39]

The following is an example of such an arrangement:

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37. *Conferenz der Stadt- und Landgemein-Arbeiter, Bethlehem, den 26.-28. April, 1781.*
38. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem. Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Lancaster, den 25. März, 1757.*
39. Diary of the Moravian Congregation of Philadelphia, July 4, 1763.

The Bible verse for this week is taken from Romans 8:32: 'God spared not His own Son, but delivered Him for us all: How shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?'

The hymn stanza to accompany this Bible verse is:

'How Lord, can it be otherwise?
How can we but be mov'd?
How can we but with weeping eyes,
Behold, how we are lov'd?'[40]

The Biblical quotations were always seasonal in theme, the *Passionsversel* assigned to the Lenten season[41] and the *Weihnachtsversel* to the Advent weeks and Christmas.[42] The verses of Scripture and the stanzas of hymns were also meant to form an unfailing code of ethics and a moral bulwark to safeguard the individual's life against the world's inroads of tribulation and sin, and numerous testimonies in the Moravian records attest to the lasting effectiveness of this method.[43] Emphasis in the choice of verses was upon Christ's suffering and sacrificial death, and His blood atonement was frequently their central theme.[44] At times the Holy Spirit, through the voluntary choice of the children, was given free rein to select a Bible subject or a hymn stanza.[45]

Formal religious instruction, or *Lehrunterricht,* was included in most of the Moravian town and country schools.[46] Such lessons were usually given by the minister of the congregation on two afternoons a week.[47] In Bethlehem they were held "from 10 to 11 o'clock on Monday mornings for the little boys and at the same hour on Thursdays for the little girls."[48] John Bechtel's *Kurzer Catechismus,* prepared under the direction of Zinzendorf during his sojourn in Pennsylvania and printed by Benjamin Franklin in 1742, and the English edition of the same work, printed by Isaiah Warner, also of Philadelphia, were used for religious instruction in the early period, followed after 1778 by *Der Hauptinhalt der Lehre Jesu Christi zum Gebrauch bey dem Unterricht der Jugend in den evangelischen Brüder-Gemeinen,*

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40. *Ibid.*
41. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 17. Februar, 1761.*
42. *Ibid., den 23. Dezember, 1760.*
43. *Ibid., Bethel, 1792.*
44. *Diarium d. G. z. Lebanon, den 20. März, 1758.*
45. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Kinder-Diarium, den 18. Mai, 1757.*
46. *Ibid., den 20. Oktober, 1779.*
47. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 17. November, 1789.*
48. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 12. November, 1814.*

originally prepared by Samuel Lieberkühn at the request of the Synod of 1769.[49]

The pious atmosphere created by such a program of spiritual activities brought the children quiet and abiding contentment and made their schools happy and satisfying abodes, as the following excerpt from the "*Memorabilia* of Nazareth for 1757" shows:

> . . . On certain important congregational holidays, when the nursery children are taken to Nazareth Hall for their special services, there is always a very special feeling of blessing in their tender hearts. It was very touching when early in the morning of November 13th, even before the musicians had announced the dawn of this festive day,[50] a tiny child sang from his little bed: 'Thou Bleeding Heart, Who is like unto Thee?' On the same evening, all the little nursery children, unbidden and unattended, sang appropriate hymns and spontaneously shook hands with one another, producing, as it were, a ceremony of homage and allegiance.[51]

The same document indicates the extent to which the school was a place of spiritual refuge, in the pious atmosphere of which worldly influences did not thrive:

> . . . We were often pleased to notice that our little ones never went through their chapel[52] without addressing the picture of the Good Shepherd, either with a heartfelt greeting or with an appropriate hymn. This picture was the best pain-alleviating remedy which could help and comfort them under all circumstances.[53]

At a *Kinder-Conferenz* held in Nazareth in 1745, it was reported with gratitude and praise to the Lord that "the children often go into a quiet little corner and pray earnestly for the bad children in Philadelphia."[54]

In such an environment of gladsome piety, disorder or dis-

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49. Cranz, David, *Alte und Neue Brüder-Historie*, 10.
50. This day celebrates the formal promulgation in the *Unitas Fratrum* of the doctrine of the immediate headship of the Lord Jesus Christ in His Church on earth, November 13, 1741.
51. *Memorabilia der beiden Kinder-Anstalten in Nazareth von dem verflossenen Jahre 1757, I. Der Nurserie.*
52. The *Saal* in the Whitefield House, dedicated on January 2, 1744, had also been the chapel for all the settlements on the Nazareth tract to November 13, 1756, when it was replaced by the chapel in Nazareth Hall. After that date, it was used as a secondary chapel, mostly for the schools associated with the Whitefield House.
53. *Memorabilia der beiden Kinder-Anstalten in Nazareth, 1757*, I.
54. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 23. Dezember, 1745.*

obedience found nothing to thrive on, and the schoolmaster was happily free from problems of discipline. On Brother Bader's visit to the Lancaster school in 1754, Schoolmaster Oerter related the following incident:

> A stranger who chanced to be working in the *Gemeinhaus* for a few days would frequently stand at the windows to watch and to listen to the children, and never failed to marvel at the quiet and order of the school. He told about how he had once been in a school and asked the teacher there how he could stand the talking and terrible noise in his classes. The latter replied that the problem had no solution, because the children in this country were an entirely different breed from those in Europe, and one would simply have to put up with the difficulty. The workman said that he had never seen such a difference anywhere in his life. Brother Oerter explained to him that he had never taken the rod or whip in his hand, but that the good conduct of the pupils sprang from another source, and seized this opportunity to tell him of the Lord and His power . . .[55]

There was very little moral instruction. Love to Christ was the "talisman" which should lead every child through the follies and temptations of youth. Even the conversation of the little children reflected the deeply spiritual atmosphere produced by the great emphasis on religion in Moravian education. The "Bethlehem Diary" records that

> . . . the discussions in the Room-companies often center about the wounds in our dear Saviour's side, hands and feet, and about His coming again. One child said that if the Lord were to enter the chapel, in spite of the fact that the minister might be preaching, she would run to meet her Lord and kiss His feet. Another said that if she were not in the chapel when He came, she would cry herself to death. They all agreed that if their longing for Him grew so great that they could no longer endure it, it would then be sufficient to induce the Lord to come down from Heaven to receive them as His own.[56]

The following is a classic case of the deep and abiding faith which the school's unfaltering program of religious training and its unadulterated spiritual atmosphere implanted in the hearts of children, recorded in the "Bethlehem Diary" of February, 1810, on the occasion of the untimely death of an eight-year-old girl in the Young Ladies' Seminary:

> Our dear and happily departed pupil, Jane Josepha Yates, was born at Schenectady, in the State of New York, on October 25, 1801.

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55. *Diarium d. G. zz. Lancaster, den 17. Mai, 1754.*
56. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 30. September, 1761.*

Her Parents, the Honble Joseph C. Yates, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in the State of New York, and his Lady, brought her to Bethlehem, with her elder sister, Helen Maria, on September 25, 1809, for the purpose of being educated in the Seminary for Young Ladies at this place. Although she loved her dear Parents with true filial affection and tenderness, yet she willingly submitted to this early separation from them, as she knew it was intended for her own benefit and future happiness. In a few days she began to feel quite easy and contented with her new situation . . .

For a child of her age she was remarkably attentive to her various school pursuits, and seemed to find a great pleasure in cultivating the talents which God had given her, by endeavoring to learn everything that was thought useful and necessary for her to know. It was pleasing to observe that her mind had been early impressed with a deep sense of her duty toward her Creator and Redeemer, and that a work of Grace had already been commenced in her tender heart. Thus she would never omit to say her evening prayer before she went to sleep, as had been enjoined to her by her dear Mama. On such occasions she always first prayed for her dear Parents, for her dear Tutoresses, and for herself to be made a good child and then concluded with:

'And now I lay me down to sleep,
I pray the Lord, my soul to keep!
If I should die before I wake,
I pray the Lord, my soul to take!'

She used also to be very desirous of going to church and especially of attending the Children's meetings and the weekly lectures which were given them on the leading doctrines of our Salvation through Jesus Christ.[57] According to all appearances, she was thought to be a healthy child, until it was discovered in the month of December last, that she was afflicted with a disorder of very alarming symptoms, which caused to those, who had the care of her education, a great deal of uneasiness and anxiety on her account. Every arrangement was made without delay, which the attending Physician prescribed and the nature of her case required, and her Parents were informed of her situation. She bore her sufferings, which sometimes must have been very acute, with uncommon patience and as soon as she felt somewhat better, she desired to be with her little companions and to frequent the schools, regretting only that she could not attend all the meetings of the children in the church. During the Christmas holy days she was extremely happy and cheerful. Some time after one of her Tutoresses told her once that as she was so often sick, there was some probability that our dear Saviour might on such an occasion take her to Himself, and asked her whether she would like to go to Him, to which she replied: 'Indeed, I should like to be there!' and upon

57. *Supra*, 221.

being again asked: 'where?' she answered: 'There, where everyone is so happy.' And to one of her little friends she said at another time: 'I wish I was up by our Saviour, not down in this world any more.'

That this her desire would so soon be realized, none of us did expect, although we had great doubts respecting her entire recovery . . . and as the good and kind Shepherd graciously purposed, soon delivered His dear Lamb from all pain and took her home unto Himself . . . Thus the better part of this our dear charge was suddenly removed to those blissful abodes, where according to her own expressions everyone is so happy, and though we sincerely lament the loss of such a promising child, yet we cannot but pronounce her lot to be blest! Her age was 8 years, 3 months and 9 days.

Now sleep in peace and sweetest slumber,
Freed early by thy Saviour's hand.
No pain nor grief will thee encumber,
With Jesus in the heavn'ly land.
There will thy Soul without cessation,
Join with the heav'ns' harmonious lays,
And for His death and bitter passion
Sing to the Lamb immortal praise.[58]

B. Music Activities

To the Moravians music was a sacred heritage and a spiritual bond. Their German-inherited love for it was intensified by the loneliness of their primitive settlements in the woodlands of Pennsylvania, and the full and earnest expression which they gave it brought inspiration, solace and recreation to their difficult pioneer life. Music's socializing, unifying and edifying influence and its effectiveness in disseminating religious doctrine were early recognized by the educational leaders of the United Brethren who utilized it unsparingly for the spiritual development of the children in all of their schools. Musical and religious activities were invariably combined, each complementing the other to perfect harmony. In all of the schools, the hymn book held second place only to the Bible and was used not simply for perfunctory singing but for devout study and meditation.

Die Singstunde, a "blessed quarter-hour service of song in which the children sang with their hearts overflowing with love for their dear Saviour's suffering,"[59] was an early and regular feature of every Moravian school.[60] It was an entirely musical

58. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Beilage zur Bericht der Gemeine in Bethlehem vom Monat Februar, 1810.*
59. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 11. Februar, 1757.*
60. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 13. Januar, 1746.*

occasion, usually held daily, but never less than twice a week. Only sacred music was sung, and the children themselves willed it so.[61] Not only did the pupils learn to sing the tunes of the Church and become versed in the beautiful German and English productions of Moravian hymnology, but they imbibed, in varying degrees, the spirit of the sacred verses, and frequently experienced spiritual conviction.[62] "The selected hymns of the sainted Christian Zinzendorf[63] were the means of carrying out diligently with both mouth and heart, the children's sole object of proclaiming their Saviour's death," stated the *Memorabilia der Nurserie für 1757*, "and they learned a great number of these verses and sang them with feeling and blessing, making the Lord's presence seem very close."[64] The same nursery children "did not like to go to bed unless the teacher for whom they had an abiding love, kissed them goodnight and sang a hymn for them."[65] In 1768, Governor John Penn remarked particularly on the fine singing of the little girls in the Bethlehem boarding school.[66] Christmas hymns were taught and sung in place of the ordinary duties of the school hours during the Advent season.[67]

In 1755, in addition to his *Kinder-Losungen*, Zinzendorf compiled a volume of *Kinderlieder*, suited to youthful hearts and minds and intended for use in the *Singstunden* in the Brethren's schools. This volume, printed by Christopher Saur in Germantown, comprising three parts, *Lehr-Psalmen*, *Herzens-Gesang*, and *Gemein-Gesang*, was called *Das Kinder-Büchlein in den Brüder-Gemeinen*.[68] Count Zinzendorf prefaced the volume with the following dissertation to children:

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61. *Ibid.*, *Cadorus Township, den 29. August, 1761:* "A couple of neighbors' children came to our school and began to sing worldly songs. Thereupon one of our youngest children told them that their songs were nasty, saying 'Be quiet and I'll sing nice ones for you.' Then our children sang some of their hymns, and the occasion became a charming *Singstündchen*."
62. Henry, James, *op. cit.*, 183.
63. *Hirten-lieder von Bethlehem* was a collection of hymns compiled by Count Zinzendorf in 1742.
64. *Memorabilia der beiden Kinder-Anstalten in Nazareth von dem verflossenen Jahre, 1757, I. Der Nurserie.*
65. *Ibid.*
66. Scott, Ruth Holmes, Music Among the Moravians, Bethlehem, Pa., 1741-1811, I, 41.
67. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 23. Dezember, 1760.*
68. Many of the simpler hymns were taken from the *Saronsbüchlein*, prepared for the press in 1754 by Brother George Soelle who was then teaching in the Boys' School.

> . . . A living congregation must think together, speak together, pray together and sing together daily. And yet each member must do each of these things for himself. If a child allows one day to pass without thinking of the *Martyrmann*, or without speaking with Him in person, or without telling his companions about Him or without singing to and about Him with his very own heart (because in schools one often sings in group, and one does not find opportunity to sing alone), the soul of such a neglectful child must already be weak or will not long remain strong.

Copies of this hymn collection were distributed to all pupils in town and country schools and it was so joyfully received by all the boys and girls that "they could find time neither to eat nor to drink; they spent the whole day reading familiar verses and discovering new ones. That was the first book that the children were ever given to read outside of regular school hours."[69] That Zinzendorf's efforts in their behalf were appreciated was shown by the following poem written in honor of his birthday:

Die Kinder in der Anstalt hie
Die in Maguntsche war[70]
Wünschen dem Jünger[71] *in Harmonie*
Ein recht vergnügtes Jahr.

Sie denken dran, und danken sehr
Für's Kinderbüchlein.
Eins sagt, Ich ess' und trink' und
zehr'
Die süssen Verselein.[72]

In 1799, Bishop Spangenberg's *Kinder-Gesangbüchlein* was introduced in all Moravian schools.[73]

Instruction in instrumental music early formed a conspicuous feature of Moravian education. On November 1, 1756, at an assembly of 199 boys and girls in Bethlehem for public examination[74] in spelling, reading and arithmetic, there was a program of

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69. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Kinder-Diarium, den 25. Dezember, 1755.*
70. On September 10, 1751, four girls from the abandoned Oley School were brought to Bethlehem and quartered in the Ysselstein School with some from the Maguntsche school, which, from that time became a school exclusively for boys. On December 4, 1753 the remaining eight girls were transferred to Nazareth, where they wrote the poem quoted above. *Cf* p. 48.
71. At times Count Zinzendorf was reverently called *Jünger*, or "Disciple."
72. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Kinder-Diarium, den 31. Mai, 1756.*
73. *Conferenz der Arbeiter der Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Lititz, den 7. und 8. Mai, 1799.*
74. *Infra*, 315ff.

sacred vocal and instrumental music by the classes under the direction of Brother John Andrew Albrecht, the principal teacher of music. At the Christmas Eve children's vigils in 1758, the hymns were accompanied by violins played by the school children.[75] When the boys' school was transferred to Nazareth in 1759, an orchestra of boys under Brother Albrecht's direction played at the head of the procession that marched toward the Nazareth road.[76] After 1800, when there were more professional musicians in Bethlehem than formerly, the boys' school benefited by always having one of them employed to teach music. David Moritz Michael,[77] prominent composer and performer, held such a position in 1813.[78] In the *Mädchenanstalt* at Bethlehem and also at Lititz, children were taught "to play the spinet and pianoforte, the guitar, and sometimes the organ."[79]

Holidays, both spiritual and historical, were celebrated in school with appropriate music. At breakfast on February 22, 1789, the girls of the Bethlehem Boarding School sang the following verses "for their dear President, George Washington:

> 'The President Thou has ordain'd,
> Support by Thine Almighty hand;
> To all his undertakings give success;
> The land o'er which he rules, protect
> and bless.'"[80]

At the Children's Festival,[81] held annually on August 17th, music embellished the entire day's program of festivities, as the pupils' "Journal" for 1789 so fully describes:

> Early in the morning we were awakened by the sound of the guitar, accompanied by the voices of our tutoresses, singing congratulatory hynms on the dawn of this festive day. At 6, the trombonists from the balcony of the Brethren's House proclaimed our festival. At 7, we assembled in the hall for morning prayer, which was kept by Bro. Huebner. All of us were dressed in white, with pink ribbons in our caps. At 9, we met again in the

75. Scott, Ruth Holmes, *loc. cit.*

76. *Supra*, 36.

77. Brother Michael was born in Germany in 1751 and came to America in 1795. He was a performer on practically every instrument and a virtuoso on the violin and French horn. From 1813 he was an instructor of music in the boys' school.

78. Scott, Ruth Holmes, *op. cit.*, 42.

79. Sister Mary Penry's Letter, 1799.

80. Journal of the Pupils of the Bethlehem Seminary for Young Ladies, February 22, 1789.

81. *Infra*, 274.

Children's meeting. After this we were divided into classes, from the youngest to the oldest. The youngest, accompanied by Sr. Marshall and their tutoresses, led the procession into the meeting-house, where we found all the worthy ministers and their ladies assembled, ready to congratulate us. The oldest pupils entered last. At 12 o'clock we repaired to our dining-room. Mr. Huebner sang a verse before and after the meal. We had an excellent dinner, and after it walked in the garden. At 2 o'clock the trombones summoned us to a Love feast which was opened with the hymn *The Lord my faithful Shepherd is.* Cakes and coffee were handed around: the choir sang delightfully, and we joined in the antiphon. After this we had another meeting in which our dear Inspector spoke on the words: *Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven.* When this was ended, we walked with our tutoresses around town, amid the sound of trombones from the balcony of the Brethren's House. There were 88 of us,—all dressed in white and walking two-and-two. In the evening we attended the meeting for the whole congregation. Mr. Huebner, after a discourse, recommended us to the prayers of those present, who joined in singing verses for us. We went to bed this evening unspeakably happy.[82]

C. The Fundamental Processes

In addition to its religious and musical activities, the Moravian elementary curriculum always included the three rudimentary subjects of reading,[83] writing,[84] and arithmetic;[85] frequently the domestic activities of sewing,[86] knitting[87] and spinning;[88] and occasionally grammar, history,[89] nature study,[90] geography[91] and drawing.[92] The Moravians' incessant emphasis upon spiritual ends reached into all of these areas of secular learning, coordinating them through a unity of divine purpose into a system with religious values at the center. The belief which de-

82. Journal of the Pupils of the Bethlehem Seminary for Young Ladies, August 17, 1789.
83. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 10. September, 1787.*
84. *Ibid., den 17. Februar, 1756.*
85. *Ibid., den 13. Dezember, 1789.*
86. Journal of Daily Events kept by the younger Pupils of the Bethlehem Boarding School, 1788 and 1789, October 22, 1788.
87. Hills, George Morgan, "A Summer Jaunt in 1773," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* X, 207.
88. *Diarium d. G. z. Lancaster, den 9. Juni, 1762.*
89. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.,* 29.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Journal of Daily Events kept by the younger Pupils of the Bethlehem Boarding School, November 11, 1788.
92. Ogden, John C., *An Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pennsylvania in 1799,* 24.

manded that each individual should read, understand and interpret the Holy Scripture with intelligence was the main reason for the prominence of reading in the curriculum,[93] and was no doubt also one of the reasons that the Moravians encouraged education for girls and as well as for boys, making no discrimination.[94] At a very tender age, the children learned the alphabet in the nursery, and were able to spell out the words of a Scriptural verse or hymn stanza by the time they were sent to the primary school, where likewise various religious source materials were used to teach reading, spelling and writing. Bible verses were copied and thus studied and absorbed by the copyist. Liturgical sections were memorized and much of this was used in formal services of worship during the church year.

The Bible was the greatest literary source for educational material, but usually indirectly through the Catechism, Psalter, Daily Texts and the hymnal. God's Holy Word was always hallowed and never reduced to the level of "just another schoolbook, as not to expose it to the danger of being made contemptible to the children, as all school-books usually are."[95] *Die Lehre Jesu, Die Geschichte der Marter-Woche,* Zinzendorf's *Das Kinder-Büchlein* and his *Kinder-Losungen,* and Otterbein's *Lesebüchlein für Kinder* were some of the media through which the pupils obtained a knowledge of the Scriptures and the skill of reading. A favorite textbook of Bible narratives was Huebner's *Zweymal Zwey und fuenffzig Auserlesene Biblische Historien aus dem Alten und Neuen Testament* of which twelve editions appeared before 1785.[96]

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93. The *Kinder-Memorabilia in Lititz,* 1778, attest to this spiritual purpose of reading:

    Wir die auch in die Schule gehen
    Und mit ins schöne Büchlein sehen,
    Können selber Jesu Worte lesen
    Und wie das liebe Kind gewesen.

94. The Moravians stressed education for girls from the very beginning of their establishment in Pennsylvania, opening America's first Protestant girls' boarding school in Germantown in 1742. Their belief that 'when you educate a woman, you educate an entire family' was a decided contrast to the New Englanders' opposition to the opening of a school for girls in Plymouth as late as 1793, on the ground that 'they might teach girls, *later* as wives, to correct their husbands in spelling.' Buehrle, R. K., "Educational Position of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses,* IV, 128.

95. Diary of the Moravian Congregation of Philadelphia, March 21, 1748; also *Protocoll der Synode, 1748.*

96. Meyer, Henry H., *Child Nature and Nurture According to Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf,* 153.

Since the majority of the early Moravian settlers and their children spoke only German,[97] most of the Brethren's schools during the first few decades after the establishment of Moravianism in Pennsylvania were conducted exclusively in the German language.[98] In a few *Landgemeinen* this continued to be the practice at late as 1790.[99] A "primer and reader" for the study of the German language, issued by the University of Jena, was used at the Moravian school at Rieth's Church in 1744.[100] In 1748, Benjamin Franklin printed 1500 German spelling books for the Brethren.[101] Henry Miller of Philadelphia, in 1761, printed 2000 copies of a speller in German for the Moravian schools.[102] The preface of *Ein wohleingerichtes deutsches ABC Buchstabier- und Lesebuch zum Gebrauch deutscher Schulen*, a German primer printed in 1795 by Michael Billmeyer in Germantown, advised that full sentences be introduced to children as soon as words of two or three letters were spelled, as, for example, *Wie der Baum, so die Frucht, und an der Frucht kennt man den Baum.* English was introduced as a secondary language, however, as early as 1747 in some areas, by which time the Brethren's town and country congregational schools had been thrown open to Indians, Negroes, and the children of the English and Scotch-Irish settlers in eastern Pennsylvania; and when their boarding schools attracted students from far beyond the Province, it was essential to teach reading and writing in both the German and the English languages. Even the non-German pupils acquired a useful and usable knowledge of German[103] during their stay in Bethlehem.[104] The following poem, composed by the younger children in the *Mädchenanstalt* in Bethlehem in 1765 and sung at a lovefeast in honor of a visit by Brother and Sister David Nitschmann, speaks eloquently for the students' proficiency in German composition:

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97. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 51.

98. Matthews, Alfred, and Hungerford, Austin N., *History of the Counties of Lehigh and Carbon*, 72.

99. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 13. Dezember, 1789.*

100. Schmauk, Theodore E., *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, II, 544.

101. Diary of the Moravian Congregation of Philadelphia, April 7, 1748.

102. Hildeburn, Charles R., *A Century of Printing: The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania*, I, 378.

103. The German spoken and taught by the Moravians was *Schriftdeutsch*, or literary German, not dialectic or "Pennsylvania Dutch."

104. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *loc. cit.*

I.
Wilkommen würdiges Paar!
Die hiessige Kinder-Schaar
Freut sich herzempfindlich.
Ein jedes bringt euch aber
Ganz Freudevoll und kindlich
Beim durchborten Fuss
Einen Friedens-Gruss
Und ehrerbietenden Kuss.

II.
Der Freund, dem unsere Schmach
Das Herz am Kreuze brach,
Und auch unseretwegen
Gewisslich zu uns sprach:
Geht, bringet meinen Segen
Einem jeglichem der Unmündigen
Im Gebüsche Penn.

III.
So segnet uns aufs neu,
Ihr allerliebsten zwei.
Weihet uns dem Lamme
Zu einer Sacristei
Und Lohn vom Kreuzes-Stamme
Dran der Marter-Mann,
Wenn Er uns blickt an,
Sich ergötzen kann.

IV.
Wir sehen die Priester Hand,
Am Kreuze ausgespannt
Für uns arme Kinder,
Hat sich schon hergewandt
Uns die wir auch sind Sünder,
Gnädig zu emfahen
Durch den Segens-Plan
Den Er euch weis an.[105]

German was mastered as well in the town and country congregational schools. On the occasion of Brother Friedrich Schlegel's thirty-ninth birthday, in 1758, his pupils at York composed the following inspirational message in class:

Alle eure Sorge werfet auf Ihn,
Er sorget für euch.
Lass' dir an meiner Gnade genügen
Denn meine Kraft ist in den Schwachen mächtig.
Christus die Versöhnung für unsere Sünde,

105. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 1. Dezember, 1765.*

Nicht allein aber für die unsere,
Sondern auch für die ganze Welt.
Ans Kreuz wart Er geschlagen,
Der Schönste unter den Menschenkindern.[106]

IV. The Curricula of Moravian Academies and Seminaries

In the period of American history between the Revolution and the Civil War, the academy and its female counterpart, the seminary, were the dominant type of secondary school.[107] The Moravians organized, either denominationally or privately, four such institutions in Pennsylvania during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The *Paedagogium*, or "Hall," at Nazareth and John Beck's School in Lititz were academies and, as such, male institutions, the Young Ladies' Boarding School at Bethlehem and Linden Hall in Lititz being *Pensionen*, exclusively female seminaries. All of these institutions were reorganizations of earlier *Anstalten* whose continuous but checkered histories have been traced by the writer in previous chapters.[108] They were the inevitable result of the changed social and economic conditions in America's new national life, in which education was to play a broader and more universal rôle. With the rise of the middle class and the popular desire for secondary education for political, business and social purposes, the Brethren's *Anstalten* of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz were reorganized to include the many non-Moravian applicants from near and far and to build upon the foundation of its common schools an enriched, more practical and more scientific curriculum, useful in preparing youth not only for college but for life in general. In this educational preparation to meet the needs of an emerging democracy, the Moravian academies and seminaries offered multiple experiences in the following five curricular areas: spiritual guidance and moral discipline, intellectual and cultural pursuits, vocational training, social cultivation, and physical exercise.

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106. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Stadt- und Landgemeinen, York, den 21. Dezember, 1758.*

107. The academy movement may be thought of as having had its origin in 1753 with the establishment of the Publick Academy in the City of Philadelphia, and its peak in about 1850 when there were 6,085 such institutions in the United States, 1636 of them being located in the Middle Atlantic States, and 524 in Pennsylvania. Dexter, Edwin G., *A History of Education in the United States*, 90-96.

108. *Supra*, Chapters II, III, IV.

A. Spiritual Guidance and Moral Discipline

If one of the above-named five elements in the curriculum was stressed more than the others it was that of religious and moral education. The Moravian secondary school, like the primary, existed pre-eminently for the culture of the soul of its pupils, and the fruitage of all its teaching was the development of a consistently Christian character. This was only natural in a philosophy of education rooted in the traditions of eighteenth-century Pietism, which maintained that the development of the spiritual faculties of a youth was as much a part of a liberal education as the training of his mind, and which inquired at every turn, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world [of knowledge], and lose his soul?" At a lovefeast which closed the public examination at the Bethlehem Female Seminary in the spring of 1794, Brother Van Vleck, its principal, expressed the hope that "the heart of every child had received an irrevocable realization of the goodness of the Lord, and that desirable outcomes would result therefrom to His praise and glory." "This," he continued, "was the principal purpose of the Boarding School, which was established and maintained to honor God, and if anything contrary to this aim should find its way into the School, the latter would be forthwith discontinued."[109] At Linden Hall it was declared that "all possible means of instruction were being applied to prepare our youth for this world and especially for eternity."[110] Nazareth Hall held as its aim "to instruct and educate youth in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, preserve them from seduction and the prevailing vices of the age, and at the same time to help them become useful members of society."[111] John Beck's Academy was likewise dedicated "to the cause of developing boys into useful and obedient men of God."[112]

The idea of a thoroughly Christian home-life was the basis of the whole system of Moravian academies and seminaries, none of which made any attempt to control the denominations of its pupils or to proselyte for the Moravian faith, but in every one of which a useful and joyful devotion to the service of God was the daily way of life, to wit:

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109. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 11. April, 1794.*

110. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Memorabilia, 1837.*

111. *Regulations adopted for the Paedagogium, or Boarding School, about to be established by the United Brethren at Nazareth, in the County of Northampton, in Pennsylvania, Article I.*

112. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 9. September, 1822.*

> At six o'clock in the morning the bell rings for breakfast . . . At table a hymn is sung, and the *Text*[113] for the day then read; and it is expected that you all join in, with cheerful hearts and voices, in praising your Lord, both before and after meals.[114]

Children's devotional meetings were part of the life of every boarding school. In Nazareth Hall they were conducted in German and English and held between eight-thirty and nine o'clock every morning. In Bethlehem there were German services except on Wednesday when "we have English meetings which we all like very much and [of which] wish we could have more."[115] When the bell summoned the Seminary girls to these meetings at six-thirty o'clock in the morning, they were "to repair in silence to the chapel (which was part of the building), two by two, in their respective divisions, attended by their tutoresses."[116] No pupil was at liberty to excuse herself from attendance at these services, and "it would be a sad thing indeed if any of the number did not cheerfully devote a short half-hour to the praise and worship of her Redeemer."[117] The Bethlehem Female Seminary and the Boys' School usually had a second daily devotional service at eleven o'clock when they went "into a large chapel adjoining the house. Three gentlemen were there: one delivered a short lecture on divinity and morality, the organist who played a hymn in which we joined with our voices, and the boys' schoolmaster."[118] In Linden Hall, children's meetings were held in the church three times a week, but because the *Saal* was not heated in the winter, the services during that season were very short.[119] All boarding-school pupils also regularly attended evening devotions, the *Abendsing,* usually musical and conducted in their church just before they retired for the day at about seven-thirty o'clock, after which they were "in composed and serious frame of mind to commit themselves to the safe-keeping of God."[120] On one oc-

113. *Supra,* 217f.
114. Rules of the Bethlehem Boarding School, n.d.
115. Journal of Daily Events kept by the Younger Pupils of the Bethlehem Boarding School, Wednesday, March 4, 1789.
116. Rules by the Principal of the Bethlehem Boarding School.
117. *Ibid.*
118. An Anonymous letter, sent from Bethlehem on August 16, 1787, was printed in the *New Haven Gazette,* Vol. III, under date of April 17, 1788. It was written either by Aurelia Blakely or Lydia Winchester, pupils who came to the Seminary from Baltimore.
119. "Reminiscences of Mrs. Eliza Jacobs Haldeman," obtained and written by an anonymous correspondent for the *Linden Hall Echo* of May and September, 1877.
120. Rules of the Bethlehem Boarding School, n.d.

casion, when the girls did not meet the Bethlehem Seminary's high standards of deportment, it was necessary for Brother Van Vleck to issue the following communication:

Bethlehem, Feb. 3, 1792.

> . . . In perusing the Journal of last week, I was not a little surprised to read the following paragraph: 'The children in both houses came to evening prayer very noisily, which grieved the ladies much; therefore we dispensed with it that night.' I thought, 'Do my dear children so little consider the importance of concluding the day with thanksgiving and prayer to our dear Lord, and perhaps look upon it as mere ceremony?' I think too well of you all to persuade myself that this should be the case, and hope you will avoid being again guilty of such inattention to your duty towards your Maker and Redeemer.
>
> J.V.V.[121]

Formal instruction in Christian doctrine was given at least twice a week, which in the Bethlehem Seminary was from nine until ten o'clock on Tuesday and Friday mornings.[122] Special prayer days were held consisting of two meetings in the forenoon, the first devoted to litany and the second to some exposition of a gospel-narrative, or to the recital of incidents in the lives of worthy men of God, calculated to interest the youthful mind and to impress the heart with the merits of piety. At one such prayer service, Brother Van Vleck read an account of the Moravian missionaries in Labrador,[123] and another was followed by a "love-feast in which all those children who had had the small-pox lately gave thanks to God for their recovery."[124] The Linden Hall girls were required to visit their spiritual adviser, two at a time, for a private religious conversation, or *Sprechen,* with her. She was Sister Verona Snyder, a cousin of Governor Snyder, "a kind, gentle soul, in whose presence whatever dread or embarrassment may have been felt before-hand soon disappeared."[125]

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121. It was a favorite custom of Brother Jacob Van Vleck to issue his instructions to the pupils in the form of writing, either as remarks in his review of their "Journal" at the end of each week, or in distinct communications which were imparted by the teachers to the school when all were assembled at meals.

122. Journal kept by the Younger Pupils of the Bethlehem Boarding School, March 6, 1789.

123. Journal, Saturday, May 27, 1791. This custom of reading papers on the activities in other Moravian congregations preserved an affectionate regard for all parts of the Unity in all countries. Excerpts from the English translation of *Grönländische Historie* were sometimes read.

124. *Ibid.*, March 2, 1789.

125. Beck, Herbert H., *Linden Hall, 1746-1921*, 11.

The many commemorative festivals of the Moravian Church were appropriate occasions through which important events of its long and venerable history were imparted to the students. On May 12, 1770, the forty-sixth anniversary of the laying of the corner-stone of the first public building in Herrnhut and of the establishment of the *Kinderanstalt* in that German settlement, the Seminary girls received an informative discourse on the historical events surrounding the occasion, after which "they knelt at the feet of their best Friend and poured out their abundant gratitude for His constant favor."[126] June twenty-fifth was the Festival of the Congregation and at ten o'clock the students "assembled in the meeting-hall, where Mr. Huebner read the history of the beginning of Bethlehem in the years 1741 and 1742 in German and English, which made a deep impression upon every heart."[127] "At breakfast today, Saturday, October 31, 1789, we remembered the anniversary of the blessed Reformation, begun in the year of our Lord 1517, by the instrumentality of Dr. Luther, an eminent servant and disciple of our Lord."[128]

Sacred holidays were made occasions of especially deep spiritual experiences on which an intimate knowledge of the life of Christ was imparted. Good Friday was a day on which "the crucifixion of our Saviour was remembered in a particular manner," with solemn meetings in which "the history of this great event was read, not one of the pupils remaining without a deep impression of the sufferings and death of their Saviour in her heart."[129] Christmas Day of 1828 was observed with an "Ode on the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,"[130] written and performed by the pupils of the Bethlehem Seminary. Its numerous choruses, arias, duets and recitations were no doubt purposely included to enable every pupil to be employed in the cast. Each Sunday was truly the Lord's Day, consistently spent in solemn reverence and quiet dignity, according to the recollections of a pupil in Bethlehem in 1817:

> . . . When the church bell rang, the oldest girls assembled in the hall, and with a teacher and one of the girls in front and another teacher and scholar in the rear, very decorously went down the stairs and toward the church. As soon as they were

126. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 12. Mai, 1770.*
127. Journal, June 25, 1789.
128. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1789.
129. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1789.
130. *MS.* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

> out of the way, the next in order started, and so on, until the occupants of the seven rooms had started for the church . . .
>
> We used prayer books and sang a hymn. A sermon in English was preached once a month; at other times, it was in German. The music was very fine, the singing being the greater part of the service. There was a fine organ . . . The brothers sat on one side of the church and the sisters on the other . . .
>
> In the afternoon we went to Bible class in the chapel connected with the school. After Bible class we could go to our rooms, read, sing, or talk. We could walk in the grounds with a teacher, but could not run nor play.[131]

At Nazareth Hall the older boys were expected "to spend an hour on Sunday morning reading their Bibles, reading aloud, singing, and conversing with the younger boys."[132] This great emphasis on religion in Moravian education gave their boarding schools a deeply spiritual atmosphere which recommended them highly also to parents outside the Moravian faith. Joseph Redman, whose daughter Eliza was a student in the Bethlehem Seminary, wrote to Dr. Benjamin Rush in 1796:

> . . . It is near four years since I became acquainted with the good People of the Society . . . I soon became pleas'd with the Place and People. There is no doubt of their possessing much of the meekness and humility of our dear Lord and Saviour for whose Religion they appear to pay every mark of Respect and Veneration. . . .[133]

B. Intellectual and Cultural Pursuits

The reorganization of the Moravian boarding schools into academies and seminaries during the last quarter of the eighteenth century was generally accompanied by a prospectus of its formal courses of instruction. At Nazareth Hall, the *Regulations adopted for the Paedagogium* stated that "instruction will be given in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, the English, German, Latin, French and Greek Languages, History, Geography, Mathematics, Music and Drawing."[134] At Linden Hall, the girls were taught "spelling, reading and writing, German and English, arithmetic, grammar, geography, music, sewing and knitting, tambour and embroidery."[135] Spelling, grammar, rhetoric, composition, read-

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131. Recollections of Mrs. Harriet Gould Drake Tinkam, 1817.
132. Records of the House Conferences, Nazareth Hall, October 9, 1809.
133. Letter from Joseph Redman to Dr. Benjamin Rush, February 28, 1796.
134. *Regulations adopted for the Paedagogium, Article 7.*
135. Sister Mary Penry's Letter, April 3, 1801.

ing, penmanship, German, French, Latin, botany, geography, astronomy, mathematics, bookkeeping, history, natural philosophy, drawing, painting, music, sewing, knitting, embroidery and tambour were included in the curriculum of the Young Ladies' Seminary at Bethlehem.[136] They were the answer to the popular demand of the time for an enriched curriculum for girls, both cultural and practical in nature, as the following letter reveals:

Lexington, Ky., 26 April 1819.

Dr. Sir:

I am much pleased with the improvement my daughters appear to have made, and am greatly obliged for your kind attention, and that of Mr. Seidel and lady and more particularly for the kind attention of Mr. Seidel to instruct my daughters in musick, a favour, I had not anticipated they would have so much enjoyed. I am solicitous to have them attend to musick, more than to any other ornamental branch of education. I wish them also to become familiar with the French language. Should they incline to painting, let it be attended after their Musick and French, but not in a manner to lessen their attentions to any other branches. The more important branches I wish them not to neglect for any other education—Reading, Writing, Spelling, English, Grammar, and particularly Arithmetic, cannot be too well learned. Geography and History are also important, particularly that of our Country. Composition ought not to be neglected. Religious and moral reading and instruction are particularly desirable and which I am pleased to learn they are regularly taught.

—James Prentiss.[137]

The course of instruction at the Lititz Academy for Young Gentlemen comprised "Orthography, Reading, English Grammar, Composition, Plain and Ornamental Penmanship, Bookkeeping, Elocution, History, Geography, Mental and Written Arithmetic, Algebra, Architecture, Perspective Draughting, Drawing and Painting, Mineralogy, Geology, Astronomy, and the German Language."[138]

The formal academic program in the Moravian academy or seminary included instruction from five to six hours daily. Hourly classes were usually held from eight to four o'clock, with a prolonged recess period at noon for purposes of eating, resting,

136. The writer derived this list from the many letters, diaries and journals written by the girls, teachers and principals of the Bethlehem Seminary and preserved in the archives of that institution.

137. *MS.* letter in Moravian Seminary and College for Women.

138. Beck, John, *Prospectus of the Lititz Academy for Young Gentlemen.*

mending and studying. Classes were often held on Saturday morning but Saturday and Wednesday afternoons were free for recreation and for the care of personal belongings. The following was the daily schedule at Nazareth Hall in 1789:

7½ to 8½ A.M.—German and English Reading, Grammar, History.
8½ to 9 A.M.—Children's Meeting, a short devotional exercise, in English and German.
9 to 10 A.M.—Latin, Geography, Natural History
10 to 11 A.M.—Arithmetic, Geometry, Bookkeeping, Mathematical Geography.
2 to 3 P.M.—Writing, Drawing.
3 to 4 P.M.—French[139]

In 1788, a day in the Bethlehem Seminary might have been spent as follows:

8 A.M.—Cyphering School
9 A.M.—German Reading School
10 A.M.—English Grammar
11 A.M.—Children's Devotional Service
11:45 A.M.
–1 P.M.—Lunch and Leisure
1 P.M.—History School
2 P.M.—Geography School
3 P.M.—Tambour and Music
4 P.M.—Drawing and Painting[140]

From these lists of courses and rosters of studies it becomes apparent that the academic curriculum of the Moravian academy and seminary included linguistic, scientific, mathematical, social and cultural areas of experience.

1. Language Arts

The analytical and functional study of the English language occupied a major rôle in all grades in Moravian secondary schools. The younger pupils studied "the first principles of grammar, namely, orthography, prosody, etymology and syntax."[141] In the following year they were taught parts of speech, number, gender, case and the comparison of adjectives.[142] Later came the study of

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139. Reichel, Levin T., *A History of Nazareth Hall from 1755 to 1855*, 30.
140. This schedule was composed from the daily experiences recorded by the Bethlehem Seminary girls in their "Journal."
141. Journal, April 6, 1791.
142. *Ibid.*

verbs, including person, tense, mood and voice; and ultimately, the technique of punctuation.[143] Thomas Dilworth's *New Guide to the English Tongue in Five Parts,* printed in Philadelphia by Henry Sweitzer in 1798, Guthrie's *Grammar,* and Murray's *Abridgment of the English Grammar* were used in the study of language fundamentals. Spellers by Noah Webster and by Thomas Dilworth were employed, as well as those furnished by the American Sunday School Union which sold at "½ doz. for $1.50."[144]

Practical application of these language principles and techniques were made in the form of written composition, of which letter-writing was a common form. Certain days were dedicated to this activity rather than to regular classes, whenever "the misses had to be employed in answering the letters brought to them by a visitor to Bethlehem who will soon set off again for his destination."[145] Such was the case on Friday, November 7, 1788, when "Mr. Huebner dedicated this day to letter-writing, instead of to the schools, because a number of boarders had to finish letters which were to go with Mrs. Moncrieff who brought her daughter to our school."[146] In Nazareth Hall, every Wednesday was set aside for writing to parents and guardians.[147] Although there was careful supervision over the form and style of all mail sent home, there seems to have been no censorship practiced over the contents. Formal "lesson letters" were written weekly by the girls of the Bethlehem Seminary to their inspector, Brother Huebner.

An especially interesting type of written composition, commenced at the suggestion of Brother Jacob Van Vleck, was the "Journal of the Boarding School in Bethlehem." At the time it was, no doubt, intended to afford the girls ample and careful practice in writing, to supply them with a pleasant diversion, and to prove an incentive to correct conduct and virtuous emulation; but for posterity it proved to be invaluable primary source of information relative to the daily occurrences in the school from

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143. *Ibid.*

144. From a bill issued in 1830 by Uriah Hunt, bookseller and stationer in Philadelphia.

145. Journal, February 15, 1791.

146. *Ibid.*, November 7, 1788.

147. DeLawter, George W., The Story of Nazareth Hall Military Academy.

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Thursday 5th Novr

In the morning we were much disappointed when we arose and found it cloudy, but soon after the clouds were dispersed and we had the pleasure to see the sun once more: we got pieces of glass and smoaked them over a candle, which made the sun appear quite visible; tho' the planet was not seen we attributed it to its being too small to be observed by our glasses, and were much disappointed; for we spent the whole morning in viewing it. we took a walk in the afternoon & in the evening went to meeting. The 2 children of Mr. Byard were added to our Number from Brunswick.

Friday

It was a very fine day, and at Noclock we received two more children from the west Indies. in the afternoon we attended the burial of two of the brothers, and in the evening heard of the death of Sister Smith who left 2 small.

(Courtesy of the Moravian College and Seminary for Women, Bethlehem)

AN ENTRY FROM THE "JOURNAL" OF THE PUPILS OF THE BETHLEHEM FEMALE SEMINARY

1788 to 1805.[148] The pupils took turns at writing the "Journal," periodically handing their daily entries over to Principal Van Vleck for his inspection, who returned them with comments on

148. The writer is indeed indebted to the "Journal," for many of its entries supplied significant data for the present chapter and others of this volume.

both the penmanship and the language.[149] After 1791, the "Journal" served as a means of acquainting the Elders of the Church with the activities of the Seminary, which new function the following letter outlined:

Bethlehem, March 13, 1791.

My Dear Misses:

As those Brethren, which have the Concerns of the Congregation in general and the education and instruction of our own children as well as those that are entrusted to our care, particularly at heart, have a right to inform themselves of the proceedings in our boarding-school, I have to acquaint you, that our Journal will be communicated to them from the beginning of this year; namely to Br. Ettwein, Klingsohr, Schweinitz. This I hope will incite you to endeavor to compose it well; to make it as interesting as possible, and to write it fair. The Journal ought not to be a bare recital of the meetings, but give an idea of all the transactions and occurrences in the school that are worthy to be noticed.

J.V.V.[150]

One pupil, Aurelia Blakely, attempted her daily accounts in poetic form:

This day we were busy in letter-writing,
The present opportunity being so inviting.
At five, Sister Warner took us to her house,
And we crossed Lehigh River with herself
and spouse,
Walked on its beautiful banks a good way,
And Bethlehem, fair town, presented a
prospect most gay.[151]

Written composition was frequently combined with oral presentation. Beautiful dialogues were written at the Bethlehem Seminary on the occasion of George Washington's death on December 14, 1799, and rendered eloquently on New Year's Day of 1800.[152] On February 22, 1800, an ode was composed and delivered "in memory of the lately-deceased President Washington."[153] At the close of classes in April of 1790, among other exercises,

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149. In February, 1790, Brother Van Vleck wrote: "I also take this opportunity to express my pleasure at finding that the greatest part of the entries written this week by our misses gave a pleasing proof that they endeavor to pay more attention to their writing, and I am in hopes that a laudable emulation will take place in this and other respects.

150. *MS.* in the Moravian Seminary and College for Women.

151. Journal, June 4, 1789.

152. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 132.

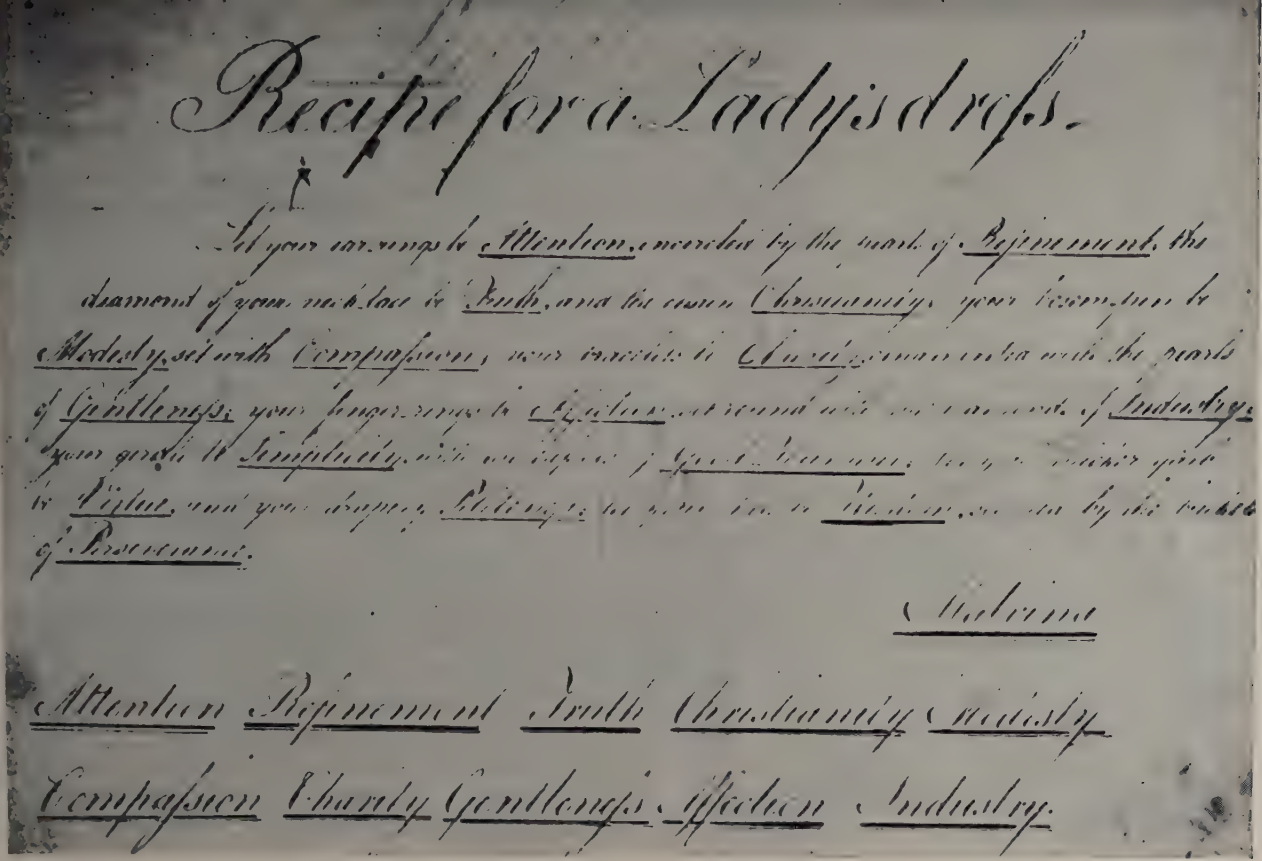
153. *Ibid.*, 134.

original compositions in prose and verse were recited by nine of the Bethlehem Seminary girls.[154] Declamations were frequent occurrences, "some of the young ladies speaking pieces on 'God's Omnipresence,' 'The Churchyard,' 'The Pious Sailor,' 'An Address to the Deity,' 'The Dignity of an Intelligent Being,' 'The Enjoyment of Time,' 'The Sun,' and many other and varied topics."[155] Elocution was taught also at Nazareth Hall and at the Lititz Academy for Young Gentlemen.[156]

The mechanics of writing were considered important, and penmanship, in particular, received great attention in all Moravian secondary schools. Rand's *Penmanship* and Fowle's *Writing Exercises* were the textbook guides. "Ornamental Hand-Writing" was included and stressed in John Beck's School,[157] whose library contained "300 Plain and Ornamental Copies of Penmanship."[158] Three or four hours per day were sometimes appointed for the art of penmanship in the Bethlehem Seminary during the principalship of Brother Jacob Van Vleck, who, in order that he might have "an opportunity of seeing an improvement in writing," proposed that "on the first Monday of every month after Writing School one Miss of each Room, be appointed for the purpose, carry the Writing books to the principal's Room, and fetch them back next morning."[159] On one occasion, after having examined the handwriting specimens, he wrote:

> My dear Misses!
> . . . Having this evening examined the writing books of our dear daughters, I am very happy that I can inform you that I had particular pleasure and satisfaction in perceiving your improvement in writing a fair hand, and I request your continuance in paying all attention and giving all possible pains in obtaining this noble art. There are, I must own, a few exceptions among the younger scholars; but I am in hopes that, by a laudable emulation, they will strive to keep pace in improving their writing with their schoolmaster; and, on this supposition, I would not point them out. I beg leave to express my thankfulness to the good tutoresses for their assiduity and care in forwarding our dear pupils in this useful branch of education. I hope that the writing-books are properly kept, so that they may be sent or taken home.
>
> —J.V.V.[160]

154. *Ibid.*, 99.
155. Journal, January 5, 1791.
156. *Supra*, 239.
157. *Supra*, 239.
158. Beck, John, *loc. cit.*
159. Letter from J.V.V., October, 1791.
160. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1792.



Recipe for a Lady's dress.

Let your ear-rings be Attention, encircled by the pearls of Refinement, the diamond of your neck-lace be Truth, and the cision Christianity; your bosom-pin be Modesty, set with Compassion; your bracelets be Charity, [illegible] with the pearls of Gentleness; your finger-rings be Affection, set round with [illegible] of Industry; your girdle be Simplicity, [illegible] be Virtue, and your drapery Politeness; [illegible] by the [illegible] of Perseverance.

Malvina

Attention Refinement Truth Christianity Modesty

Compassion Charity Gentleness Affection Industry.

(Courtesy of the Moravian College and Seminary for Women, Bethlehem)

SAMPLE OF A MORAVIAN PUPIL'S PENMANSHIP

The tone of the above-quoted report was decidedly more laudatory than that of a previous address by the same principal:

> My dear Misses!
>
> I have since the regulation of the Schools for the Winter-season made it a point to visit all the classes of the Writing-school, and to examine the Writing books.
>
> I have already heard it remarked of our School, that the writing is but indifferent. It is, however, not so much for the honor of the School, as for your own future satisfaction and that of your good parents, guardians and friends, that I entreat you, to take all possible pains to write a beautiful and legible hand.[161]

The following were his particular criticisms of the pupils' penmanship and his recommendations for improvement in that skill:

1. It seems to me that too little attention is paid to the proper holding of the pen.
2. Let me further remark, that the greater number of our misses write too fast.
3. In the third place, I find it needful to recommend paying more attention to imitate the copy. As a means to encourage your improvement in the useful and noble art of writing, and to have an opportunity of shewing it, I intend to have a book made for each class of the Writing-School, in which each of our pupils is to give a specimen of her Writing, from time to time, and which also may be shown at the examinations.[162]

In 1824 it was agreed to supply the pupils of the three older classes of the Bethlehem Seminary with "two quills per month, procured from the teacher who keeps the stationery for the School."[163] The Seminary accounts for 1792 show that "blue paper was purchased for 'scratch' work, and long tables were supplied for the writing-room."

Reading was included in every grade of the Moravian academy and seminary, and school libraries were receiving special appropriations as early as 1789.[164] A visitor to the Bethlehem Seminary in 1799 remarked that "a small library carefully selected was appropriated to the use of the girls. Great circumspection has been observed in selecting suitable authors, from the multiplicity, who have appeared in such endless variety within this century."[165] It was the teacher's duty in that institution "to give

161. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1791.
162. *Ibid.*
163. Protocoll of the School-Conferences at Bethlehem, March 19, 1824.
164. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 3. März, 1789.*
165. Ogden, John C., *op. cit.*, 31.

the Inspector notice when she saw books in the hands of the pupils, of which he had no knowledge.''[166] Equally careful supervision over the girls' reading was exercised at Linden Hall, where ''the boarders were not permitted to keep any novels during their stay with us. We have books fit for children and young persons: *History*, the *Spectator*, *Guardian*, etc.''[167] The library of John Beck's Academy in 1835 contained approximately 600 volumes, each classified with a shelf number, and the whole collection reflecting a wide range of interest in both fiction and non-fiction.[168] A fee of two dollars per quarter, or twelve weeks, was charged for the use of library facilities and apparatus in the Lititz Academy, and every boy who came to Nazareth Hall paid at his entrance one guinea for the use of the library.[169]

Until well into the nineteenth century, German was a second vernacular in the Moravian boarding schools, and after that time it remained in the curriculum as a popular foreign language study. In 1785, the Provincial Helpers' Conference recommended that ''in order to maintain a uniform standard of German writing in all the Moravian schools, the 'Dresden' style of script be introduced and copied.[170] At Nazareth Hall in 1786, on three days a week German was spoken and on three days English was employed. For eight German words on an English day or *vice versa* a fine of one cent was imposed.[171] German and English Scripture readings were given at meals according to the language of the day. On Sunday both languages were used until 1809, when German was abandoned by Brother Jacob Van Vleck because of the 109 pupils admitted during his administration (1802-1809), only a few were interested in speaking German.[172]

French was introduced into the curriculum of Moravian academies and seminaries as early as 1789. In that year, since ''many parents signified their desire that their children might also be

166. Instructions for the Teachers of the Bethlehem Boarding School.

167. Sister Mary Penry's Letter, April 18, 1801.

168. The title of every volume is listed in the *Catalog of the Library, Philosophical, Chemical, Astronomical, Geographical and Mathematical Apparatus, belonging to John Beck's School Lyceum at Lititz, Lancaster County, Penna.*, in possession of Dr. Herbert H. Beck, who graciously allowed the writer to examine its contents.

169. *Regulations adapted for the Paedagogium, Article 12.*

170. *Protocoll der Prov. Helf. Conf., den 26. Februar, 1785.*

171. Minutes of the House Conferences, Nazareth Hall, January 7, 1786.

172. Gedike's *Lesebuch*, Otterbein's *Lesebüchlein für Schüler*, and Bachmann's *German Grammar* were some of the German texts.

taught the French language," it was the pleasure of Brother Jacob Van Vleck to inform them that "a lady well versed in that language arrived from Europe with the intention to give lessons in the same."[173] Since her maintenance and the expenses of her voyage devolved upon the school, "an extra charge of 5 Spanish Dollars per annum was made for instruction in French.[174] Boeuf's *French Grammar* was used; *Gil Blas* and some of La Fontaine's *Fables* were read; and dialogues were spoken in French.[175]

Latin was taught in all the Moravian secondary schools. Spanish and Greek were offered at Nazareth Hall where arrangements could also be made for learning Hebrew.[176] A special fee of sixteen dollars was charged for Greek, and of twelve dollars for all other foreign languages.[177]

2. Natural and Physical Sciences

Even before 1800 the Brethren's academies and to a certain degree also their seminaries, were offering courses in geography, astronomy, botany, zoology, chemical and physical laws, and using equipment which suggests a scientific curriculum far in advance of the times. In their geography classes the Bethlehem Seminary girls studied "the circles of the Globe," [178] "the earth as a planet, its motions, diameter and circumference,"[179] "the real divisions of the Earth,"[180] "the chief rivers and towns of Europe and America,"[181] "the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Vermont,"[182] and "visited far-off Africa, finding its capital cities on the map."[183] Carl Gotthold Reichel's *Geographie zum Gebrauch der Schulen in den evangelischen Brüdergemeinen*, published in Barby in 1785, was, as its name implies, the standard geography textbook in all Moravian schools.

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173. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 84. The lady was Mademoiselle Marie de la Fontaine, who came to America in 1789 in company with Brethren Ettwein, Van Vleck and others, on their return from the General Synod at Herrnhut.
174. *Ibid.*
175. Journal, April 8, 1791.
176. DeLawter, George W., *op. cit.*, 49.
177. *Ibid.*, 33.
178. Journal, November 11, 1788.
179. *Ibid.*, October 23, 1789.
180. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1791.
181. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1789.
182. Diary of Lucretia Backus, January, 1804.
183. *Ibid.*, August 6, 1789.

From various "Journal" entries, it is clear that Woodbridge's, Guthrie's, Workman's, Morse's, and Goodrich's *Geography* were also used in the Bethlehem Seminary. Both the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences* and the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* were taken at the Seminary, the latter publication at an annual cost of five dollars.[184] As early as 1802 a "Terrestrial Globe for finding places, their Latitude and Longitude" was purchased from Uriah Hunt, bookseller and stationer in Philadelphia.[185] In the Lititz Academy for Young Gentlemen, in 1833, the geographical equipment included:

1 Celestial Globe
1 Terrestial Globe
3 Sets of Tanner's *Maps*, each containing:
    1 Map of the World
    1 United States
    1 Europe
    1 Asia
    1 Africa
1 Bicknell's *Revolving Chart*
2 large charts, representing more than 1,000 persons of the different Asiatic Tribes in their Costumes, Worships, etc., together with all their Physiognomies drawn largely and correctly, handsomely colored and used for illustrating the Manners and Customs of Nations.
1 large *Moral and Political Chart* 6′ x 12′
1 large *Isothermal Chart of Views or Climates and Productions* 6′ x 12′
1 *Zoological Chart, containing all the Animals of the World in their respective regions*, 6′ x 12′[186]

The Seminary girls studied "the rudiments of all the planets and fixed stars"[187] and enjoyed their "Astronomical School kept by Mr. Huebner who explained the planet Mercury's crossing the sun,"[188] and from whom they "got pieces of glass and smoked them over a candle, thus getting a clear view of the sun's disk, but the planet was not to be seen."[189] John Beck furnished his

184. From a bill issued by Uriah Hunt, 1833.

185. *Ibid.*, 1802.

186. Beck, John, *Catalog of the Library, Philosophical, Chemical, Astronomical, Geographical and Mathematical Apparatus, belonging to John Beck's School Lyceum, at Lititz, Lancaster County, Penna.*, 21.

187. Journal, April 8, 1791.

188. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1789.

189. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1789.

Academy boys with the use of a telescope and slides of astronomical diagrams.[190]

That nature study was a student enthusiasm at Nazareth Hall as early as 1787 is verified by the following account of Lewis David von Schweinitz, in maturity a distinguished clergyman, botanist and author:

> . . . When a little more than seven years old, Lewis was placed in the academy of the Moravian community at Nazareth Hall, where he remained eleven years. Young Lewis received his first impulse toward scientific study when on a visit to this school with his grandfather, Bishop de Watteville, before he entered it as a pupil. Seeing a specimen of the *Lichen Digitatus* lying on a table, the child examined it with interest, and was told its name and something about its physiology. From that moment he was wont to date his interest in the vegetable kingdom. After entering the school he received some instruction in the elements of botany. A partial flora of Nazareth and vicinity, made while he was at this institution, which remained among his manuscripts at his death, is evidence that his study took immediate hold upon the mind of the youth.[191]

The Nazareth boys also had zoological interests, for the records of 1811 show that the Sister who swept the second floor of the Hall complained of many difficulties because of "the boxes in which the squirrels were kept."[192] It was also found necessary "to clip the wings of the pigeons and restrict the privilege of ownership of the first Room company."[193] A visitor to Nazareth Hall in 1799 witnessed "a considerable collection of fossils, shells and birds, which were natives of America, and other curiosities in a museum."[194] Many of these realia were collected and sent by Moravian missionaries in every quarter of the world.

Natural philosophy was taught to a select group of the Bethlehem Seminary girls from two to three o'clock on Monday afternoons.[195] Comstock's *Philosophy* was the textbook.[196] A series of

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190. Beck, John, *loc. cit.*

191. "Sketch of Lewis D. von Schweinitz," *Popular Science Monthly*, XLIV, 834. During his school days, young Lewis' powers of language and his view of satirical humor were occasionally manifested in poetical effusions. While yet a pupil and not yet eighteen years of age, he assisted in teaching some of the younger classes, and edited *The Juvenile Magazine*, an early publication of Nazareth Hall.

192. Minutes of the House Conferences, Nazareth Hall, June 11, 1811.

193. *Ibid.*, July 13, 1812.

194. Ogden, John C., *op. cit.*, 44.

195. Protocoll of the Seminary, July 11, 1831.

196. Bill issued by Uriah Hunt, 1932.

lectures on that subject, "illustrated by apparatus specially procured," was delivered at the Seminary in the winter evenings of 1838 by Brother Ernst F. Bleck.[197] Physics and chemistry, civil engineering, mineralogy and geology were pursued by the boys in John Beck's Academy, who were abetted by the following list of remarkably complete and modern scientific apparatus:

Electricity: 1 Electrizing Machine with Leyden Jar, 1 set Electric Bells, 1 Electric Luminous Temple, 3 Electric Chains, 1 Brass Dancing Plate and Images, 2 Silver Leaf Electrometers, 1 Electric Cannon, 1 Insulating Stool, 1 Electric Battery of Combined Jars, 1 Thunder House, 1 Universal Discharger, 1 Electronometer, 1 Electric Luminous Word, 2 Electric Revolving Wheels, 1 Jointed glass handled Discharger.

Pneumatics: Air Pump and Receiver, Magdeburg Hemispheres, Pneumatic Slides, Syphon, Force Pump, Drop and Feather Glass, Hydrostatic Bellows and Tube, 4-Gallon Glass Globes, Pneumatic Mill.

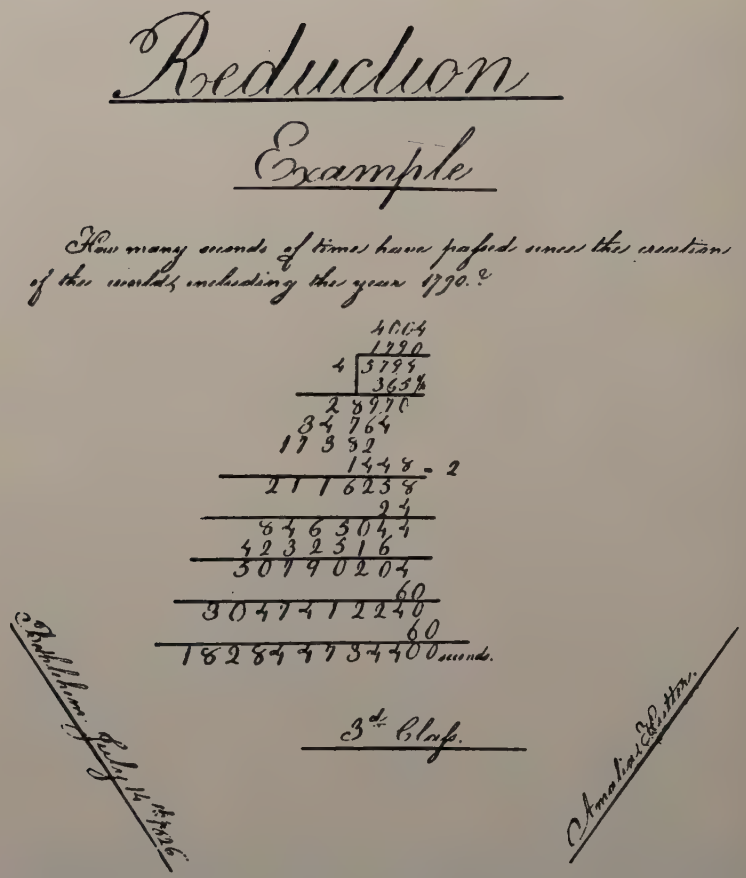
Chemistry: 1 Pyrometer, 1 Alembic, 4 Glass Hydrogen Sounding Tubes, 1 Thermometer, 1 Brass lamp stand, 1 Iron lamp stand, 6 Glass Retorts, 2 Glass Receivers, 1 Bell Glass, 1 Aireometer, 1 Eolopile, 12 Flasks and Tubes (glass, leaden, brass), 4-gallon Gasometer, 1 Hydrogen Gun, 2 Magnets, 2 Pairs Scales, 12 lamps for experiments, 1 Jones' Alcohol Blow Pipe, 5 Crucibles, 1 Iron and 2 Marble Mortars, 1 self-regulating Hydrogen Apparatus, 2 Pneumatic Cisterns, 3 Graduated Measures, 3 Glass Funnels, 2 Glass Blow Pipes, 1 Dr. Hare's Oxyhydrogen Blow Pipe, 1 Steam Engine with turning Lathe, 3 small furnaces, 2 large metal reflectors with iron ball, I conductometer, 76 Glass Bottles and Jars, containing Chemical Substances, 1 small Distillery, 1 Carburated Hydrogen apparatus, 1 Balloon with inflating Apparatus.

Optics: Lenses, Mirrors, 40 slides containing Diagram of Astronomy, Mythology, Natural History, Moral Philosophy, and History, in all 200 representations, painted by an artist of New York, 1 Magic Lantern of great power with Convex Reflectors, 1 Telescope, 1 Microscope, 1 Prism.[198]

3. Mathematical Branches

Arithmetic in its basic and derivative forms was as integral a part of the Moravian seminaries as it was of the academies. It was not unnatural that the thrifty and efficient Moravians should consider it important for girls to learn to handle the accounts with which they would inevitably be confronted later as home-

197. *Supra*, 49.
198. Beck, John, *Catalog*, 19-21.


Reduction
Example
How many seconds of times have passed since the creation of the world, including the year 1790.?
Bethlehem, July 14th 1796.
3d Class.
Amalia Elisa Hm.

(Courtesy of the Moravian College and Seminary for Women, Bethlehem)

makers and mothers. In Bethlehem the youngest cyphering classes "spoke of the multiplication table,"[199] and as they advanced in the Seminary, they followed through the progressive steps of "simple and vulgar fractions,"[200] "reduction ascending and descending,"[201] "the single rule of 3 direct and the double rule of 3,"[202] "the rule of 3 inverse, the double rule of 3 in 2 state-

199. Journal, April 7, 1791.
200. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1788.
201. *Ibid.*, August 18 and 19, 1789.
202. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1791.

ments,"[203] "Profit, Loss, Interest, and the rule of 3 in fractions,"[204] and barter.[205] Earlier computations were figured in pounds, shillings and pence; later the American decimal system was used. Christian Henry Rauch, born in Lititz in 1788, wrote a text on arithmetic in 1810, which was printed in Easton by Christian J. Hutter and became a regular textbook in all Moravian schools. Dilworth's *Schoolmaster's Assistant,* Greenleaf's and Pike's *Arithmetic,* and Workman's *Series of Mathematics* were also used. Bookkeeping was taught likewise in both seminary and academy,[206] Hitchcock's and Mair's *Bookkeeping* being the standard textbooks. "Mathematical geography," in which the area, diameter and circumference of the earth and the size of its parts were computed, was studied at Nazareth Hall.[207] Algebra[208] and geometry were subjects common to all the Moravian secondary schools, and the higher mathematical branches of surveying and perspective draughting were included in the curriculum of the John Beck's School.[209]

4. Social Studies

Moravian secondary education featured world history in its modern, medieval and ancient aspects, and usually in that order. In the Bethlehem Boarding School for Young Ladies, the lower classes were taught United States history; the middle groups had modern and medieval European history; and the oldest girls studied ancient life and times.[210] Ancient history was presented in four periods: from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Moses, from Moses to Cyrus, and from Cyrus to Christ.[211] Reichel's, Morse's, and Olney's *United States* and Rollin's *Ancient History* were used in Nazareth Hall.[212] In 1830, five volumes of the *Biographies of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence* were purchased for the Young Ladies' Seminary at a cost of $18.75.[213] Current

203. *Ibid.*
204. *Ibid.*
205. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1791.
206. Journal, December 10, 1788.
207. *Supra,* 240.
208. Bailey's and Colburn's *Algebra* were used as textbooks.
209. Beck, John, *Catalog.*
210. From a note in a Dialogue on French History, delivered at the Bethlehem Seminary in 1836.
211. Journal, April 5, 1791.
212. Reichel, Levin T., *loc. cit.*
213. Bill issued by Uriah Hunt, 1830.

events were not overlooked, as the following entries in a Seminary girl's diary would prove: "This morning we read one of the newspapers which Br. Benade had left for us, and among other interesting matters . . . that Buonaparte proposed to assist in the conquest of Egypt,"[214] and "after four we finished reading in the newspapers that John Page, Esq. was elected Governor of Virginia and Thompson Mason, Esq., Brigadier General of the military of Virginia . . . and that treaties were made between the United States of America and the Kaskaskia and Choctaw Indians."[215]

5. Cultural Activities

The feminine arts of embroidery, tambour work on muslin and lace, and filigree work were cultivated in the Moravian seminaries, and a generous proportion of the daily schedule was assigned to them. In addition regular afternoon classes during the school week, Saturday mornings were frequently dedicated, at least in part, to this handiwork.[216] An elaborate piece of needlework in ribbon and silk, made by the Bethlehem Seminary girls under the direction of Sister Polly Allen,[217] and presented in 1826 to the wife of the President of the United States, Mrs. John Quincy Adams, was complimented by her as being a work "in which the purest taste and neatest execution were conspicuous."[218] A number of very handsome pieces of portrait embroidery are still in existence to bear witness to the artistic skill and the spiritual interests of their workers, such as "Mary and Her Little Lamb,"[219] "Suffer Little Children to Come unto Me,"[220] and "The Meeting of Isaac and Rebecca."[221] Drawing and painting were part of the curriculum from the very beginning, but at first only those pupils who had attained a good proficiency in handwriting were permitted to pursue them.[222] A special fee of approximately three dollars per quarter (twelve weeks) was usually charged for these

214. Diary of Lucretia Backus, January 23, 1804.

215. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1804.

216. Journal, October 9, 1789 and November 19, 1791.

217. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 28. Juli, 1826.*

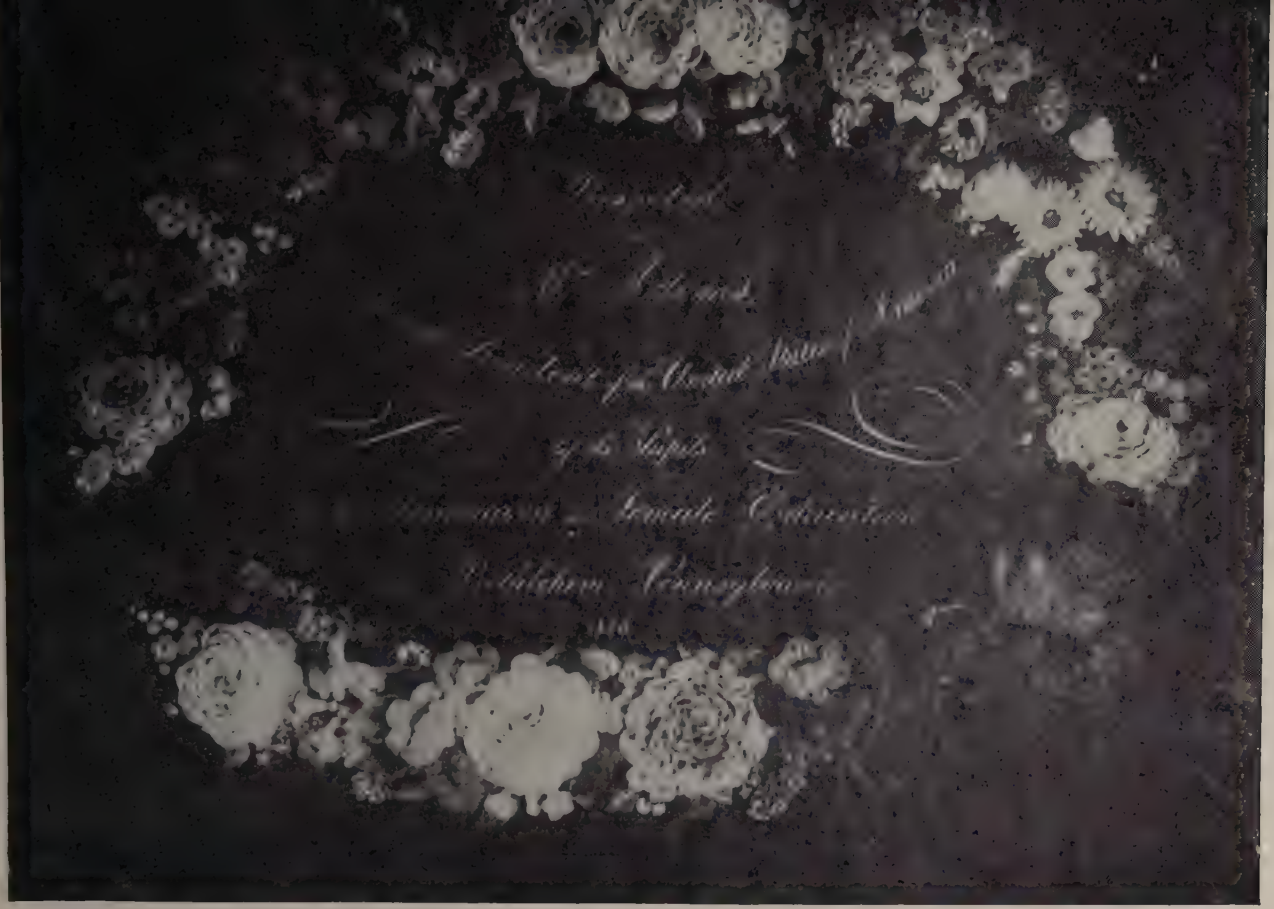
218. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 221.

219. Made by Mary Seeley in 1826 and presented to the Seminary in 1926 by Mrs. H. H. Mitchell of Easton.

220. Worked in 1825.

221. Made by Sarah Kummer, 1790.

222. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 156.



(Courtesy of the Moravian College and Seminary for Women, Bethlehem)

SAMPLE OF PUPIL'S NEEDLEWORK AT THE BETHLEHEM SEMINARY

art classes.[223] Painting on ebony and velvet was a nineteenth-century curricular embellishment.[224]

With the founding of the *Collegium Musicum* in 1744, the Moravians undoubtedly initiated the first regular music schools of this country.[225] Musical activities played as large a part of the Moravian secondary curriculum as they did in the elementary schools.[226] A letter written by a twelve-year-old pupil in the Bethlehem Seminary in 1788 states: "I am taught music, both vocal and instrumental. I play the guitar twice a day, and am taught the spinet and pianoforte, and sometimes I play the organ,"[227] which suggests "an exceedingly well-rounded musical education for eighteenth-century America."[228] There was a generous supply of musical instruments placed at the students' command in all Moravian schools. In 1792 there was "a charge of £7 10s. for repairing and tuning the seven pianos and clavichords in the Bethlehem Boarding School."[229] A visitor to Nazareth Hall in 1799 reported that "in every apartment could be found a piece of music for the use of the pupils,"[230] and at a public examination held at Linden Hall in 1801, " the parents were extremely gratified and were moved unto tears at the Piety which was visible in the music and singing."[231] Before 1820, the music was mostly in manuscript form, meticulously copied by the teachers, the Single Sisters or the Single Brethren. Sister Polly Allen[232] did much fine work along this line for her girls in the Bethlehem Seminary. By 1835 such printed musical matter was being purchased as *Progressive Lessons for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with the Fingering Accurately marked, Dedicated to all Young Amateurs in Music. Books I and II.*

That the progress of the pupils' musical education was care-

223. Beck, John, *Catalog.*

224. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 202.

225. Elson, Louis C., *History of Music in America*, 340.

226. *Supra*, 225ff.

227. From a letter written by a pupil in the Bethlehem Boarding School to her brother who was attending an academy in Connecticut, dated August 16, 1787. It appeared in the *New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine* from which it was copied in the *American Magazine* (edited by Noah Webster), and was translated into German in the *Philadelphia Correspondenz.*

228. Howard, John Tasker, *Our American Music*, 24.

229. Walters, Raymond, *The Bethlehem Bach Choir*, 16.

230. Ogden, John C., *op. cit.*, 4.

231. Sister Mary Penry's Letter, April 3, 1801.

232. *Infra*, 262.

fully planned and supervised, the following communication by Brother Jacob Van Vleck leaves no doubt:

> . . . Last week I finished the examination of the Music-scholars, 49 in number, except those that have begun but lately. Of this number I found about 20 whose improvement gave me great pleasure. With the rest I was inclined to make every reasonable allowance of want of genius in this branch of learning, or the short time since they began Music.
>
> Endeavor to play your music well, exact, and with grace, and so, that you need not be afraid to play before company: it is much better to play a few pieces well than to play many bad.
>
> —J.V.V.[233]

Nevertheless, whether they became proficient in the art was not the sole inquiry of the Moravian educators; music was rather a "hand-maiden of devotion" and its aim was first to supply a sensory appeal to the pupil's spiritual nature, and then to produce a general refinement of thought and introduction to musical appreciation, created by and with the hymns and chorales of the Church and with the choicest works of German classical composers, of whom Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven seem to have been the favorites. In the seminaries the success was more visible in producing accomplished musical scholars, but in considering music as a medium of refinement, its influence was as fully manifested in the academies.[234] Even in the Lititz Academy for Young Gentlemen, an institution whose principal object was "to give a good and practical English, mathematical and scientific education," advantages in music were always offered.[235]

There were music teachers in the boarding schools *ab urbe condita* and no charge was made for vocal or instrumental instruction. When in 1762 regular tuition fees were first established at the boarding institution, music was definitely included.[236] With their reorganization into seminaries and academies in or after 1785, separate fees for music were charged. In Nazareth Hall, every boy paid at his entrance "one guinea for procuring musical instruments, and if parents of property should find themselves inclined to add to this entrance money, it will be thankfully acknowledged."[237] By 1793, the music fee then had increased to

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233. Letter to the Misses of the Bethlehem Seminary written by Brother Jacob Van Vleck, March 31, 1791.
234. Henry, James, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
235. Rupp, Daniel I., *History of Lancaster County, Pa.*, 319-320.
236. Scott, Ruth Holmes, *op. cit.*, I, 41.
237. *Regulations adapted for the Paedogogium, Article 13.*

twelve dollars.[238] At Linden Hall, about 1800, "the charge for Piano Instruction was 6d. per half hour, and diligent practicing was strictly insisted on."[239]

C. Vocational Training

Although for a century after their organization the Moravian seminaries in Bethlehem and Lititz were among the most fashionable boarding schools in America and attracted the daughters of the most prominent American families,[240] their students had to conform to a very plain and unaffected mode of life and to join in laboring with their hands in various kinds of work. This was rather a recommendation than a hindrance in attracting pupils. John Wrenshall of Pittsburgh enrolled his two daughters, Emily and Sarah Jane, in 1814, because "piety, industry and economy are traits in a female character which I always admire," and with this in view, "I have chiefly been induced to send them to your seminary, as such, whatever their genius leads them to, which is useful, and the managers think them capable of learning, let them be taught."[241] The practice served the dual purpose of administrative economy for the schools and domestic training for the girls. The Moravians were opposed to holding slaves, and their constant emphasis upon household simplicity and prudent economy reduced the employment of domestic help to a minimum. The "Rules and Regulations of the Bethlehem Seminary," adopted in 1788, made the situation very clear:

> . . . As we have no servants to work on our children, and we deem it well for young persons to learn to wait on themselves, one of our daughters from each room is appointed daily to sweep the room, dust the tables, and see to the proper disposition of the desk and chairs. After breakfast, each pupil attends in person to making her bed, and the different companies repair to their respective dormitories in company with their tutoresses.

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238. De Lawter, George W., *loc. cit.*

239. Reminiscences of Mrs. Eliza Jacob Haldeman.

240. General Sumpter's daughter, two daughters of General Nathaniel Greene, two daughters of Supreme Court Justice John Jay, General Washington's grandniece, Thomas Jefferson's grandniece, and three nieces of Stephen Girard were but a few of the descendants of "first families" sent to the Boarding School for Young Ladies at Bethlehem. Both the latter institution and Linden Hall educated the daughters of many affluent colonial merchants from the sea-coast cities, and of wealthy plantation owners in the West Indies where Moravian missionaries were active among the slaves.

241. Letter to the Bethlehem Female Seminary from John Wrenshall, Pittsburgh, January 1, 1814.

Though rising out of economic necessity, the household arts were turned into practical education opportunities to which the procedure of "learning to do by doing" was vigorously applied. Each girl took her turn serving as "day-keeper" and her duties in that capacity were manifold. At Linden Hall, she "spread the tables and brought the coffee and a basket from the kitchen; said grace at the table; swept the rooms and made the wood fires, for which purpose she got up earlier than the rest."[242] This was something of a trial in winter when it was dark and the day-keeper, "with tallow candle in hand, had frequently to wade through the snow . . ."[243] In the evening she "went to the kitchen to fetch hot water for the teacher's tea."[244] There were two room-keepers in the Bethlehem Boarding School for Young Ladies each week "to see that the shelves in the 'next room'[245] and our drawers were kept in order, to take charge of the baggage of every newcomer, to mark the latter's clothing with her initials," and on Saturday "to help sort the laundry of the boarders and arrange it in piles on the dressing-tables of the different rooms."[246] "Weekholders" were students appointed at Nazareth Hall "to receive the food from the Sisters, who brought it to the foot of the stairway;[247] to care for the lamps and stoves and clear the tables";[248] and "to empty the refuse and carry water, for which duties they were entitled to the remnants of the teachers' portion of the evening meal."[249]

The girls in the Moravian boarding schools were instructed in spinning, weaving, plain and fancy sewing, darning and knitting, also through practical economic necessity in the household and by application to their own wardrobe. It had always been a basic principle of Moravian pedagogy unobtrusively and unsuspectingly "to accustom children to all kinds of labor,[250] and from the

242. Reminiscences of Mrs. Eliza Jacobs Haldeman.
243. *Ibid.*
244. *Ibid.*
245. *Das Nebenzimmer*, or "next room," adjoined the girls' dormitories, served as a bathroom, dressing-room and storage-closet.
246. Recollections of Mrs. Harriet Gould Drake Tinkam, Student, 1817.
247. The Sisters who lived in an adjacent building prepared the Nazareth boys' meals. Before 1810 each room-company ate in its own quarters; thereafter all students dined in a common refectory, but the food was still brought from the Sisters' House by the "weekholders."
248. *The Hall Boy*, May, 1903.
249. Letter of Henry Smith of New York, Class of 1814, written in preparation of the 3rd reunion on June 6, 1856.
250. *Verlass der Bethlehemer Synode, 1756.*

founding of Bethlehem even the four-year-old children had been taught to spin and to weave not only "to gain material for their own clothing, but also to supply cloth for the many pilgrims serving the Lord's kingdom."[251] This practical branch of instruction, even on the primary school level, was a steady source of income for the General Economy and a means by which even the youngest children were enabled to assist in repaying, in part, the expenses of their education.[252] "The Children's Diary, 1755" attests to the pupils' early efforts in this communal enterprise:

> . . . Today [January 13, 1755] a girl was not diligent in spinning. Thereupon the other children reprimanded her for her lack of industry, explaining to her that many pilgrims had just left Bethlehem to spread the Gospel in other areas, and that they would need clothes in their missionary labors. Had not the Saviour been diligent when He was a child?[253]

In the seminaries, the girls' joint labor in spinning produced the fabric needed in their household for bedding, toweling, tablecloths, and the like.[254] Spinning days, usually Saturdays, were happy occasions. The emulous and enjoyable diversions which they afforded the boarders were depicted realistically by Hannah Langdon in her "Journal" entry of Saturday, March 7, 1789, as follows:

> . . . We had a spinning day. Early in the morning our tutoress, accompanied by the sweet notes of Sister Sulamith's guitar, awoke us with a hymn. After breakfast the room was put in order for the business of the day—the spinning wheels arranged in one row, and the distaffs in two. At nine o'clock our tutoresses presented us with apples. At ten o'clock cakes were handed around. We had several of the sisters from the Sisters' House visiting us throughout the day. In the evening Sister Huebner complimented us with a repast of chocolate and pancakes—both rareties to us—and very acceptable after the labors of the day. We then adjoined in chorus singing:
>
> 'To the Giver of all good,
> It is He whose blessing raises
> All that gives us clothes and food.
> Who of you could ever have expected
> What on this spinning-day has been
> effected;
> Oh! the pleasure is most sweet
> Right to use our hands and feet!

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251. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 8. April, 1746.*
252. *Ibid., Kinderdiarium, Memorabilia, 1760.*
253. *Ibid., den 13. Januar, 1755.*
254. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 66.

Then the following couplets were recited by the girls, the youngest first: (24 in all)

C. Reichelt:

'I've caused no disturbance, dear misses,
so pray
Excuse Caroline's not spinning today.'

E. Beaumont:

'I've spun seven cuts, dear companions,
allow
That I am yet little, and know not
right how.'

P. Heckewelder:

'Eleven I've done: and I've been very
busy;
Believe, I have sat at my distaff
quite easy.'

P. Stone:

'Though my finger was hurt, I've spun
eight and ten,
Believe, dear companions, I've tried
all I can.'

A. Hickley:

'Thirteen I've finished, and, with
real delight,
I say I could spin till late in the
night.'

E. Bedell:

'I've spun cuts—they are thirty and
three
More than I expected; and this pleases
me.'

L. Palmer:

'Two less than Miss Hannah, I've done
with delight;
Oh, spinning wheel! to me, what a
most pleasing sight!'

The ringing of the bell summoned us downstairs.

—Hannah Langdon

Mending and darning were taught "to all girls, little and big, also on Saturday mornings, with as much care as fine embroidery."[255] The Bethlehem Seminary girls confided their sentiments on this activity to their "Journal" in such entries as:

This day as usual, it was spent,
In mending of the clothes we rent;

and

255. Recollections of Mrs. Harriet Gould Drake Tinkam, Student, 1817.

I've today not much inclination
for rhyme,
As mending and darning take up
all my time.[256]

It was even recommended that boys "should mend their own stockings and learn to knit," for which purposes Saturday afternoons at Nazareth Hall were utilized.[257]

The seminaries and academies also served a vocational purpose in supplying the Moravian elementary and secondary schools with well-trained teachers. The vast majority of instructresses in Linden Hall and the Young Ladies' Seminary had been pupils in those schools, including the first non-Moravian teacher, Miss Eleanor Humphreys, appointed to the Bethlehem Seminary in 1821.[258] Sister Mary Allen, affectionately called "Sister Polly," who had been a pupil there from 1789 to 1799,[259] returned to Bethlehem in 1811 as instructress in fine needlework at the Seminary, holding private classes in her room in the Sisters' House.[260] From its inception, Nazareth Hall had the dual purpose "to educate not only skillful mechanics, but also assistants in the work of the Lord."[261] At its reorganization in 1785, its aim continued to be both utilitarian and cultural ". . . to train good servants, workers and teachers who will be useful in the Lord's service both at home and abroad; and of whom there is a very great dearth at present in this country."[262] This statement of purpose was elucidated by Brother John de Watteville, as follows:

> . . . The real intention is, that the boys who display an ability for the sciences should be permitted to enjoy instruction in the basic principles of the sciences several years longer than is the custom in our town Schools, possibly until their sixteenth or seventeenth year, before they learn a trade; so that they may

256. Journal, Saturday, June 6, 1789.

257. Minutes of the House Conferences at Nazareth Hall, October 22, 1787.

258. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 213.

259. A bond of $300. was given for Polly Allen's annual expenses at the school. These payments were faithfully carried out until she had nearly completed her education there. Discovering that the remittance had ceased, she began teaching in the school for her maintenance.

260. Meyers, Elizabeth L., "The Story of Sister Mary Allen of Bethlehem," *Easton Express*, Saturday, November 14, 1931.

261. Synodal Minutes of 1764, April 26, 1764.

262. *Schreiben an alle unsere N.A. Orts- Stadt- und Landgemeinen, die jährliche Collecten für die Anstalten der Gemeine betreffend, Bethlehem, den 2. September, 1785.*

> have opportunity to learn as much as may be necessary to qualify as school teachers or similar occupations, without ordinarily setting them apart entirely for study (which, however, might occasionally occur), for our congregation has suffered considerably from the lack of such men for some time already.[263]

In this teacher-training function, which dated to 1785, Nazareth Hall, was far in advance of the times.[264] In 1807 a separate department was created there for the preparation of teachers, in which young men received such instruction as qualified them either to teach in schools established at home or to open and conduct schools in the mission fields, and which was the seed from which the present day Moravian College and Theological Seminary had its origin.[265]

One of the main purposes expressed in the creation of Moravian academies was the establishment of courses having value aside from mere preparation for college, particularly studies of a practical nature, useful in preparing youths for their economic position in the newly-formed democracy. Among these new vocational subjects were bookkeeping,[266] mensuration, surveying, civil engineering, architecture, perspective drafting and geology.

D. Social Cultivation and Physical Exercise

Life in the Moravian boarding schools was kept consistently pleasant and satisfying because, above all else, it was well regulated. Every conscientious effort was made in both organization and administration to approximate the ideal home. Each of the schools stood under the direction of an "inspector," or principal. He and his wife were regarded *in loco parentis*, supervising with utmost diligence the spiritual, mental, social and physical development of the members of their large school "family."[267] The

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263. *Protocoll der Prov. Helf., Conf., den 15. Dezember, 1784.*
264. The earliest suggestion of institutional provision for specific preparations in the United States, as the result of a study reported in Bernard's *American Journal of Education*, Vol. 13, No. 33, p. 756, appeared in the *Massachusetts Magazine* for June, 1789, in an article by Elisha Ticknor advocating the establishment of County Schools in order "to fit young gentlemen for College and school keeping."
265. *Supra*, 76ff.
266. The *Protocoll der Provinzial Helfer Conferenz, den 18. October, 1803*, stated: "It is highly desirable that those young people who expect to work in stores be given adequate instruction in bookkeeping."
267. In keeping with the "family" atmosphere of the schools, the boarders were usually referred to as "our sons" and "our daughters."

division of the student body into "room-companies" was a striking Moravian peculiarity. They were the social and residential units of the school organization. Assignment to these "Rooms" ran according to age, while classroom division was made on the basis of academic proficiency. Anywhere from ten to twenty pupils comprised a "company" and occupied the same apartment for social, study and dormitory purposes. Every group was supervised by two companion teachers who lived constantly with the pupils, keeping meticulous watch over their charges by turns, each serving his or her day in rotation. It was the inviolable duty of the "room-teacher" to supervise every activity of his or her company from morning until night except during the regular school hours, during which time the children dispersed to their various classes and he or she engaged in regular classroom teaching.[268] Free intercourse between the room-companies was encouraged, thus extending the Christian "family" throughout the entire institution.

For the maintenance of both order and orderliness in any household as large and active as that of any Moravian boarding school, the adoption of definite rules and regulations was inevitable and indispensable. Each institution formulated a code of conduct, the observance of which resulted not in the repression or depression of its students, but rather in their wholesome comfort and that of the community. Cheerful compliance with reasonable requirements was not only essential from an administrative standpoint, but was deemed to be of educational and social value in developing "habits of order and general proper deportment beneficial to the students and, through them, to society."[269] The students were given no opportunity to blame their misdemeanors on "ignorance of the law," for the rules were regularly and frequently brought to their attention, sometimes formally read by the inspector in the chapel,[270] and sometimes informally recalled by one of the pupils during sewing school.[271] They were modified as conditions in the school or community changed,[272] the attitude of the authorities being, in general, as reasonable and progressive as that of Brother Jacob Van Vleck, who aptly said: "If we

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268. The weekly teaching load seems to have been from twenty-one to twenty-four hours.
269. Preface to the Rules of the Bethlehem Boarding School, 1788.
270. Journal, August 29, 1791.
271. *Ibid.*, February 23, 1789.
272. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1788.

should like to see another year, this rule may be confirmed and continued, or altered, according as it shall be most suitable."[273] On occasion the rules were used by the pupils for purposes of self-appraisal as on February 9, 1789, when "they found that three rules had been well kept, ten middling, and they have to confess that one was kept not at all, as yet."[274] Cases of flagrant violation seem to have been rare enough to find their way into the pupils' "Journal," and only two such instances are on record there:

> Tuesday, April 7, 1789: Miss.....behaved so stubbornly in the cyphering school that Sister Langaard was obliged to lead her from the Company. Sister Langaard said that never before had she to do such a thing.
>
> Thursday, May 7, 1789: This morning we heard that one of the scholars, ... has not leave to come any more to school, because her behaviour is not suitable.

It must not be inferred that this persistent emphasis upon propriety of behavior in the Moravian boarding schools rendered their atmosphere dull or their program monotonous. In offering their students a life to live, they supplied them with a rich abundance of social and recreational activities. At the close of the classes each day, weather permitting, outdoor exercise was taken, usually in the form of leisurely walks through the beautiful, spacious pleasure-grounds which were a conspicuous and attractive part of every Moravian seminary and academy, or through the idyllic town in which the school was located.[275] A visitor to Bethlehem in 1799 chanced to meet the tutoresses walking with their pupils "for the benefit of air and exercise" and commented upon "the innocence, health and contentment in the countenances of these little bands."[276] The diaries of the Bethlehem girls tell of their "going to see a camel at the tavern which was very pleasing to all,"[277] of "visiting Daddy Huber's where an excellent vesper of Buckwheat cakes, potatoes and coffee was enjoyed,"[278] of "fetching apples in Niesky,"[279] of "playing tag and marbles; enjoying the swings, skipping ropes, hoops, and see-saws in the playground, and also the boats in the Monocacy Creek."[280] In

273. Letter of Brother Jacob Van Vleck, January 6, 1793.
274. Journal, February 9, 1789.
275. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1789.
276. Ogden, John C., *op. cit.*, 19.
277. Journal, August 6, 1789.
278. Diary of Lucretia Backus, January 24, 1804.
279. Journal, October 8, 1788.
280. Recollections of Mrs. Harriet Gould Drake Tinkam, Student, 1817.

inclement weather, the students were permitted to "exercise by running in the hall."[281]

Wednesday and Saturday afternoons were free from classes and invariably devoted to healthful recreation of various kinds. The Seminary girls in Bethlehem were given a piece of land to cultivate and "were kept happily busy tying the currant bushes," and "tending the flower beds."[282] A garden was also appropriated to the boys at Nazareth Hall, described by a visitor as

> . . . a spot greatly admired. It is upon the slope of the hill, at the foot of which is the spring. The straight and circular walks, the windings up the hill, the falling gardens ascended by steps, the banks, the summerhouses, seats, trees, herbs, fruits, vegetables and flowers are seen in great variety. In it, youth must obtain a considerable knowledge of farming, gardening and botany.[283]

At John Beck's Academy each boy was required to cultivate a small garden "nine feet by four square, enclosed by a plank frame."[284] The Linden Hall girls were escorted on short excursions to Lancaster, Manheim and Ephrata by "Pappy" Blickensderfer. The Bethlehem boarders' diaries tell of summer excursions to Gnadenhütten, Mauch Chunk, the Delaware and Lehigh Water Gaps, and of winter sleigh-rides to Nazareth and Easton. The periodic journeys of the Nazareth Hall boys to the girls' school at Bethlehem were no doubt exciting occasions for both sexes! In his *Valedictory Letter* John Beck recalls his "boys' regular excursions to the mountains for chestnuts, the good dinners enjoyed at Brickersville, the pleasure rides to Columbia and Lancaster, together with Washington birthday celebrations and fishing trips."[285] All such expeditions were taken under the guidance of the teachers whose wisdom and judgment gave direction to their pupils' imagination and inquiries. By erecting a dam across a rivulet on the Nazareth Hall campus, the boys gained a place for bathing and fishing.[286] The girls at Bethlehem had a bath-house near the Lehigh, surrounded and sheltered by trees in every direction. From here they went "into the clear stream, but never without suitable bathing-clothes and attendants."[287] Dancing was considered much too worldly to be permitted as a

281. Journal, February 10, 1791.
282. Ogden, John C., *op. cit.*, 14.
283. *Ibid.*, 46.
284. Beck, John, *Valedictory Letter*, 11.
285. *Ibid.*, 16.
286. Ogden, John C., *op. cit.*, 47.
287. *Ibid.*, 19.

social accomplishment or as a physical exercise;[288] and to the peace-loving Moravians, fencing had too potent a combat connotation to be included among their sports.[289]

John Beck had read descriptions of the large and complete playground of Phillip Emanuel Fellenberg's Institute at Hofwyl in Switzerland, and tried in a small measure to duplicate it for his Lititz Academy so that the boys could engage in various youthful sports, both undisturbingly and undisturbedly. From an original plot of about one and one-quarter acres secured in 1830, he developed a recreational center whose initial appearance and subsequent changes he described as follows:

> . . . It was surrounded by an enclosure seven feet high, and three gates opened into the vacant space; over the large or central one, there was an arch with the inscription, in gilt letters, as a perpetual monitor, 'In all your actions and amusements avoid profane language and quarrels.' Opposite these places of entrance, arose a high ball-alley, with a shed attached, wherein the boys might store away their gardening implements, and apparatus used in various games and amusements . . . Between the gardens and the main space reserved for games of ball, etc., there was an avenue of trees intended for a riding course, for I deemed this sport a source of much pleasure to the boys, beneficial to their health, and useful as an accomplishment. To further this end, I had purchased two ponies, and that all might suit together, had small saddles made. When all was complete, the spot possessed great beauty, and when some seventy or eighty boys were seen amusing themselves in all the exuberance of healthy spirits, some riding, some playing ball, others cultivating their gardens; the appearance was at once pleasant and inspiriting; indeed, it grew to be one of the attractions of Litiz [*sic*], and was visited by all strangers who chanced to come that way . . .
>
> The play-ground remained an attraction spot for the boys, until the now celebrated spring grew in favor, by reason of its extraordinary natural beauties, and the great improvements made there, when they preferred going there. It remained in existence until the present year 1865, when in accordance with an extended plan of the village, a street was opened along its site, an alley opened through it, the trees were cut down and the enclosure taken away.[290]

The German custom of "vesper" was a convivial Saturday treat in the seminaries, for the food of which each girl would contribute part of her pocket money "of 11d per week."[291] Near the Bethlehem Seminary there was a building where an old man and

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288. Letter from John Wrenshall, January 1, 1814.
289. De Lawter, George W., *op. cit.*, 74.
290. Beck, John, *Valedictory Letter*, 11-12.
291. About twenty cents. Reminiscences of Mrs. Eliza Jacobs Haldeman.

woman sold cakes and little pies, candy, nuts, and "six apples for a penny."[292] In the little shop in the Sisters' House in Lititz, the Linden Hall girls could buy "mint drops and cakes."[293] Of these Saturday afternoon feasts "the crowning glory was boiled mackerel (we never had fish at school) which the cook purchased and boiled for us. She also made the coffee and loaned us all the dishes. The feasts we had in rooms on the same floor with the kitchen."[294] When the vespers grew beyond wholesome proportions requiring all of Saturday morning for their preparation, they were restricted in the allotment of time and money.[295] Furthermore, it was recommended that "pocket money from parents be used with prudence and economy . . . and be a means of insuring the acquisition of the very important habit of frugality, an essential requisite for housekeeping."[296]

The long winter evenings were spent in quiet relaxation or in simple, virtuous entertainment. Some of the "room-companies" in the Bethlehem Seminary supplied dramatic productions for the enjoyment of the whole school, such as "an agreeable play, called 'Virtue,' which some of the misses composed,"[297] and " 'The Shepherdess' played to the great pleasure of the spectators, who were our tutoresses and their most intimate friends."[298] At other times "one of the misses would read aloud from the *Universal Magazine*,"[299] or "from the *Monthly Magazine*, in which a biographical sketch of Catherine, first wife of Henry VIII. was most interesting,[300] poetry and historical pieces from the *Ladies' Monthly Museum*."[301] Musical *soirees* were frequent.

292. Recollections of Mrs. Harriet Gould Drake Tinkam, Student, 1817.
293. Sister Penry's Letter, April 3, 1801.
294. Recollections of Mrs. Harriet Gould Drake Tinkam, Student, 1817.
295. Journal, October 5, 1791.
296. Rules for the Bethlehem Boarding School, 1801.
297. Journal, February 1, 1789.
298. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1789.
299. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1789.
300. Diary of Lucretia Backus, January 24, 1804.
301. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1804. The Bethlehem Seminary seems to have subscribed very liberally to current periodical literature, some of which were *The American Museum* or *Universal Magazine* (Philadelphia, 1790), *The Lady's Magazine and Repository of Entertaining Knowledge* (Philadelphia, 1792), *The Columbian Magazine* or *Monthly Miscellany* (Philadelphia, 1786), *The Ladies' Friend, being a Treatise on the Virtues and Qualifications, which are the Brightest Ornaments of the Fair Sex, and render them most agreeable to the Sensible Part of Mankind*, (Philadelphia, 1793), *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the diffusing of Useful Knowledge* (London, 1834), *Bull's New York Weekly Magazine of Original Essays, Fugitive Pieces and Interesting Intelligence* (Philadelphia, 1798), etc.

Pupils were on occasion invited to "social evenings" in the apartment of the principal and his lady, usually for the purpose of meeting some illustrious visitor to Bethlehem or guests at the school.[302]

The scheme of social life being on the plan of the family, the teachers absorbed the affections of the "room-company" over which they presided by reading entertaining and instructive books to their charges,[303] by helping them with their preparations for their next day's studies[304] and "by putting charades and riddles for them to solve."[305] By nine o'clock the pupils retired to their dormitories located in the upper stories in all the schools. After individual, oral prayers, each student "got into his or her separate bed, a little wooden bedstead, with a frame of lattice to tuck the bed in. The frame was separate from the bedstead. After the pupils retired, a teacher put these frames in their places and tucked the clothes so that they would not get uncovered at night."[306] Constant surveillance over the pupils, such a distinguishing feature of all Moravian boarding schools, was not relaxed even during the sleeping hours.[307] The teachers slept in the dormitories[308] and one of them patrolled all night and watched to see that "the lard lamp was kept burning . . ."[309]

Birthdays were prominent and very happy events in Moravian life and were always marked with much festivity in the schools. On such occasions the Linden Hall girls would go "to the spring, carrying with them a bottle of currant wine and a basket of cakes by way of refreshment," or would invite the principal or the pastor "to a little feast which was held under the trees on the declivity between the Lititz Church and the graveyard, later called the 'Wilderness,'" and when these reverend gentlemen made their appearance, "the girls greeted them by singing a hymn of congratulation . . ."[310] It was the vogue for a pupil or teacher to solemnize her own birthday by tendering a lovefeast to her room-company or even to the entire school,[311] not only for

302. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 204.
303. Protocoll of the Bethlehem Seminary, October 16, 1824.
304. Journal, December 3, 1788.
305. *Ibid.*
306. Recollections of Mrs. Harriet Gould Drake Tinkam, Student, 1817.
307. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 23. January, 1753.*
308. Ogden, John C., *op. cit.*, 45.
309. Reminiscences of Mrs. Eliza Jacobs Haldeman.
310. Sister Penry's Letter, April 3, 1801.
311. Journal, January 19, 1789.

the purpose of happy fellowship and congeniality, but "with a joyful and thankful heart to the Creator and Redeemer, to praise Him on this day for all the manifold favors He has bestowed since our entrance into this mortal life and to implore His protection, care and divine benediction for our future course in life."[312] When the increased enrollment of the Bethlehem Boarding School meant that there was "one birthday to every five days of the year,"[313] it was necessary to restrict the number and proportions of such festivities by permitting "every child to make a lovefeast only on the first birthday she celebrates in the school, if she chooses or wishes it, with the children and tutoresses of her room, inviting a few of her nearest acquaintances, if she desires, not exceeding six in number."[314]

The low rate of mortality and the deliverance from illness among the boarding-school pupils were reverently attributed to God's favor and prayerfully acknowledged with words and acts of thanksgiving.[315] The meticulous attention to all phases of their

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312. Letter to the Seminary Pupils from Brother Jacob Van Vleck, January 6, 1793.

313. *Ibid.*

314. *Ibid*

315. The following poetic lines were composed in both German and English by the Linden Hall girls who had recovered from an epidemic of measles in 1812:

Wir Kinder alle, die wir krank
An Masern sind gewesen,
Erscheinen nun mit Lob und Dank!
Wir alle sind genesen!
Wir erkennen gleicherweis,
Unseres treuen Arztes Fleiss,
Und der lieben Eltern Pflegen!
Ihnen wurd' dafür ein Segen
Gebe Gott, dass wir gedeih'n
Und der Eltern Herz erfreu'n.

When Thy great mercy, O my God, my
rising soul surveys,
Transported with the view I'm lost
in gratitude and praise.
When worn with sickness, Lord, didst
Thou with health renew my face.
Since Thou renewed'st my being, Lord, let
me renew Thy praise.
Yet how shall words with equal warmth,
the thanks and praise declare,
That glow within my grateful heart,
Lord, Thou canst read it there.

Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Beilage, den 1. März, 1812.

students' physical welfare must have contributed greatly to the envious health record which the Moravian schools enjoyed from the very beginning. The first death in Linden Hall occurred in 1826, thirty-two years after its establishment.[316] A survey reveals that of the 2,050 boys enrolled at Nazareth Hall in the first eighty-three years of its existence, only thirteen succumbed while in attendance.[317] Dr. Hull, a physician of Lititz, was wont to say of the Academy for Young Gentlemen, in which only one pupil died, that "no doctor can expect to make money out of the school-boys so long as Mr. Beck has charge of them."[318] Inoculation for small-pox, cowpox and measles was considered desirable before matriculation, or else made compulsory upon entering the academies or seminaries.[319] Vaccination against small-pox was performed in the schools as early as 1773.[320]

All of the hygienic elements of the well-ordered life of the Moravian boarding schools, such as the judicious division of the day between labor and relaxation, early rising and retiring, spacious and well-ventilated rooms, frequent opportunity for exercise in the open air, constant attention to correct posture,[321] and plain and wholesome food, produced a physical vigor that was a natural deterrent to disease. Continual vigilance over the pupils at play tended no doubt to reduce the chance of accidents. Practical and definite rules of hygiene were outlined for all Moravian school children by Bishop Spangenberg in 1792 in a special textbook entitled *Etwas von der Pflege des Leibes für Kinder*, in the preface of which the author spoke intimately with his young readers, as follows:

> Consider, dear children, that our bodies and its members are a matter of no mean importance: Our Lord Jesus Christ became like unto us in respect to them . . . And this body and its members were given us by God; and therefore you must use and maintain them as He would have you do . . . Do you not know that you became God's temple through Holy Baptism?

The book's forty-eight pages present specific rules of cleanliness, food and drink, exercise, posture, rest, and general deportment.

Meals in the boarding schools were unpretentious, but seem to

316. *Ibid., den 19. September, 1826.* The deceased was Sara Ann Cacy, aged fourteen years and nine months.
317. De Lawter, George W., *op. cit.*, 57.
318. Beck, John, *Valedictory Letter*, 18.
319. *Circular issued by Linden Hall*, 1822.
320. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 15. September, 1773.*
321. Minutes of the House Conferences, Nazareth Hall, March 11, 1786.

have been both gastronomically and spiritually satisfying. The menu for breakfast included "thick slices of bread and butter, milk or coffee with milk and sugar";[322] for dinner, "an abundance of roasted or boiled meat and vegetables, good bread and butter, all we wanted, and good soup";[323] for supper, "sometimes mush and milk; at others, hot boiled potatoes with plenty of butter, bread and milk, or bread and molasses."[324] In the afternoon there was "a four o'clock piece of bread and butter."[325] The schools maintained gardens to provide their kitchens with fresh produce. A Nazareth Hall alumnus, Class of 1814, recalled with piognant nostalgia ". . . the pewter plates, a large dish of boiled beef, a sour-crout, or applie-pie, or wheaten pap sprinkled with brown sugar, set before us; . . . the large loaf in the tutor's hand, and each hungry boy gesticulating with fingers the state of his appetite . . ."[326] The tables were clean and attractively set with white cloths, pewter utensils and china mugs. The students were required to act "with decorum," which seems to have meant "no reaching, no murmuring of disatisfaction at the food or treating the gifts of God with disrespect, no leaning on elbows, and the like";[327] and faculty members were required to attend all meals that they might instruct the pupils in table etiquette.[328] Meals were always opened by the singing, reciting or reading of grace. In the early days, silence was enforced upon the pupils at every repast.[329] This strictness was gradually relaxed, and in 1793 the custom of reading aloud during dinner by a few of the students "who were the best readers with audible voice" was introduced.[330] To render such a program feasible and pleasurable it was necessary for all the pupils "to attend punctually in the dining-room when the bell rings; to avoid as much as possible every noise by talking or by knives, forks, spoons and plates; and never to leave the table till grace is said or a verse sung."[331] But reading was later found to be no proper adjunct of meals, when the mind

322. Recollections of Mrs. Harriet Gould Drake Tinkam, Student, 1817.
323. *Ibid.*
324. *Ibid.*
325. Beck, Herbert H., *Linden Hall*, 11.
326. Letter from Henry Smith of New York, October 19, 1855, in preparation for the third reunion on June 6, 1856.
327. Rules and Regulations of the Bethlehem Boarding School.
328. Minutes of the House Conferences, Nazareth Hall, October 22, 1786.
329. Henry, James, *op. cit.*, 176.
330. Letter to the Seminary by Brother Jacob Van Vleck, April 22, 1793.
331. *Ibid.*

should be relieved of serious or reflective thought and the digestive functions left undisturbed.[332]

Personal cleanliness and propriety of dress were not overlooked in the Moravian schools.[333] Prior to the adoption of military uniforms at Nazareth Hall in 1861, there was no conformity in dress in the boys' schools, but all parents and guardians were requested to provide "decent but plain clothes for the scholars and to avoid all excess and vanity therein."[334] By regulation, the hair of the boys had to be cut every four weeks.[335] For the girls an important part of the dress of the period was a white linen cap with a reddish ribbon, which was worn to church and in class, but was laid aside at other times. The *Haube* was crimped, and the bow was tied "so as just to take in the chin." The tying of the bow and the starching and ironing were considered a great art. A cap was expected to last a week. It was a sight to see "a waiter full of those beautifully 'done up' caps, as it was brought into the room."[336] Dresses were made of cotton materials, frequently calico. An apron was usually worn.

Steady emphasis on vocal and instrumental music made all the Brethren's schools, and especially their boarding institutions, very cheerful places. Even the routine activities of the pupils' lives were brightened with musical touches. The girls were on occasion awakened in the morning by a hymn sung by one of the sisters to the accompaniment of a guitar.[337] The spinning lesson was opened by a hymn composed especially for that purpose by Sister Martha Spangenberg. Music and song were natural concomitants of the students' lovefeasts, chapel services and evening gatherings, and garnished their meals.[338]

An extended summer holiday was not granted to the seminary and academy pupils until 1817, when the Reverend Brother Henry Steinhauer, principal of the Bethlehem Boarding School, announced the month of July as recess from classes.[339] Previously, periodic intervals of a week or ten days were granted for mental relaxation and physical rest, usually at the close of the school

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332. Henry, James, *op. cit.*, 176.
333. Letter from Brother Jacob Van Vleck in reply to the Journal of February 14-20, 1790.
334. *Regulations adapted for Paedagogium, Article 16.*
335. Regulations of Nazareth Hall, March 17, 1786.
336. Reminiscences of Mrs. Eliza Jacobs Haldeman.
337. Journal, March 7, 1789.
338. *Ibid.*, February 22, 1789.
339. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *loc. cit* .

year in April.[340] In summer, arrangements were made for only two hours of instruction in the afternoon, permitting students freedom from classes at three o'clock.[341] Classes were usually recessed on holy days and for special events in the Moravian Church calendar; of the former, the Christmas season and Passion Week were times of deep spiritual experience in the students' lives;[342] of the historical Memorial Days, the "Children's Festival" on August seventeenth, for which "the pupils always gathered boughs to ornament their rooms to commemorate the great revival among the children in Herrnhut in 1727,"[343] and the "Festival of the Eldership of Christ in the Moravian Church" on November thirteenth[344] were annual observances in all the schools. Patriotic holidays were also appropriately observed, as the following account of a Fourth of July celebration shows:

> July 24, 1826: Early on the morning of July 4th we were awakened by fifty joyous gun-salutes, in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of our country's independence. The day was celebrated in a most fitting and solemn manner. More than 1,000 out-of-town guests were in Bethlehem to help us celebrate. At ten o'clock the main service was held in the church whose windows were adorned with poppies and whose organlofts were covered with fifty floral arrangements. After a brief message from Brother Seidel, the choir sang *How lovely are Thy dwellings.* Thereupon the congregation sang *Bring Unto the Lord, Praise, Glory and Honor.* After a prayer which was perfectly adapted to the occasion, Brother Seidel delivered a sermon on Isaiah 63:7. Then the choir sang *Jehovah, All Power and Honor Be Unto Thy Name, Amen!* A second service was held in the church at two o'clock in the afternoon, in which Brother Schweinitz delivered an oration in the English language, extolling the advantages which we enjoy because of our country's freedom. In the evening our boarding-school pupils met in the chapel and sang several hymns appropriate to the occasion. The school itself was beautifully illuminated. Many of our friends who attended the day's festivities declared that they had never witnessed such an impressive celebration.[345]

When all of these innumerable and varied facets of Moravian

340. *Ibid.*, 162. As early as 1754, it was announced that "schools should not be recessed too long at any time, because during the summer the children will forget what they learned during the winter." *Protocoll der Gnadenhüttner, 1754.*

341. Protocoll of the Bethlehem Female Seminary, August 27, 1838.

342. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 24. Dezember, 1813;* and Journal, April 19, 1789.

343. Journal, August 16, 1791.

344. *Ibid.*, November 13, 1788.

345. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 4. Juli, 1826.*

boarding-school life were assembled, the total result was "a very happy, innocent company, in which everybody was respected and loved, and received only kindness and most tender care, and in which there was no homesickness or discontent."[346]

V. The Educational Program of the Single Brethren's and Single Sisters' Choirs

The peculiar economic and deeply spiritual aspects of early Moravianism in Pennsylvania which gave rise to the "Choir" system of social organization, and the close affiliation of that system with the schools of the Brethren's settlements have been presented in general in the Bethlehem chapter,[347] and with more specific application in other parts of this volume. Two of the Choirs, the Single Brethren's and the Single Sisters', had definite educational functions to perform, and an explanation of their organization and program is pertinent to the curricular treatise at hand.

Plans for the first Choir House of the Single Brethren in Bethlehem were considered as early as July, 1742;[348] the corner-stone was laid on August 8, 1744,[349] and the building was ready for occupancy on December 6, 1744.[350] This stone edifice became the home for the unmarried men of the community, who were eighteen years of age or older and whose combined number of forty-four[351] constituted the Single Brethren's Choir. They were under the spiritual superintendence of Brethren Nathaniel Seidel and Gottlieb Petzold. By 1747 their number had already increased to eighty[352] and was outgrowing their abode which measured no more than thirty feet by forty-eight, and had only working and sleeping rooms and no kitchen or basement.[353] The corner-stone

346. Reminiscences of Mrs. Eliza Jacobs Haldeman.

347. *Supra*, 9ff.

348. Howland, Garth A., "Reconstructional Problems Associated with the Moravian Buildings in Bethlehem," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XIII, 203.

349. Reichel, Levin T., *Early History of the Church of the United Brethren*, 151.

350. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 6. Dezember, 1744.*

351. Although twenty of the thirty-six Single Brethren sent from Europe had married by the end of 1744, twenty-four young men from Oley, Philadelphia, Staten Island and elsewhere had increased their ranks and therefore a separate building for them was indispensable.

352. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 164.

353. Howland, Garth A., *loc. cit.*

for a second and more commodious Single Brethren's House was laid on April 7, 1748.[354] This five-story building, on which most of the construction work was done by the Single Brethren themselves, contained living accommodations for at least 200 persons, a chapel, a kitchen and refectory, a dormitory, and a number of apartments on the first floor set aside for trades and handicrafts. It continued in the service of the Single Brethren until April, 1813, when the girls' boarding school purchased it.[355]

The Single Sisters, only twenty in number, had left Bethlehem on June 1, 1745 to take up their abode in the Whitefield House in Nazareth.[356] On November 15, 1748, they were brought back to take possession of the house which the Single Brethren had vacated upon entering their larger home in Bethlehem. In 1789, the Single Sisters' Choir had grown to 120 constituents.[357] Their life was not a monastic one. They took no vows and were free to enter or leave their House at any time. Their voluntary and partial seclusion from the world afforded them economic security and gracious living. They were outwardly distinguishable from the members of other female Choirs by the pink ribbons on their caps.[358]

Choirs of Single Brethren and Single Sisters were to be found not only in Bethlehem, but also in all regular Moravian settlements. The Brethren's House of Lititz, built in 1759, was a three-story structure, measuring sixty feet by thirty-seven. Its basement contained the kitchen and dining-room; its first floor had four rooms in each of which nine or ten brethren resided. Part of the second floor was a chapel with an organ, and part was given over to dwelling rooms. A dormitory and infirmary were on the top floor.[359] In 1780, it housed fifty occupants. The Sisters' House of Lititz, measuring ninety feet by thirty-seven, had been built a year earlier. It, too, was of limestone and had the same internal plan as the Brethren's House.[360] In Lititz, as elsewhere, the boys'

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354. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 7. April, 1748.*

355. This is the building now known as Colonial Hall, the central and oldest in the group of buildings of the present Moravian Seminary and College for Women.

356. Levering, J. Mortimer, *History of Bethlehem, Pa., 1741-1892*, 205.

357. Rush, Benjamin, *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania*, 98.

358. The children wore red ribbons; the older girls, lighter red; the married women, blue; the widows, white.

359. Rupp, Daniel I., *op. cit.*, 322.

360. Mombert, J. I., *An Authentic History of Lancaster County*, 384

school and the girls' school were intimately related to the Brethren's House and Sisters' House respectively. When the system of Choirs was dissolved, their buildings were taken over exclusively for school purposes. In Nazareth, a house for the Single Brethren was built in 1774 to take care of the twenty-three youths whom the Single Brethren's House at Christiansbrunn could no longer accommodate. The latter, more frequently called by its English name of Christian's Spring, was one of the three large plantations on the Nazareth tract which were farmed for the benefit of the General Economy.[361] Around a grist and saw-mill two miles southwest of Nazareth, this settlement, named in honor of Christian Renatus, son of Count Zinzendorf, was begun on December 17, 1749, primarily as a place where Single Brethren might dwell and receive spiritual and vocational training. It served as the seat of an Economy of unmarried brethren until 1796.[362]

The intent of all Choir Houses was "no other than a school for piety, virtue and industry."[363] Just as each lived in a separate building and maintained its own household, so each had its code of choir principles, its system of organization, leadership from within the group responsible to a general governing board, regular choir meetings, choir liturgies and an anniversary choir festival celebrated on August twenty-ninth by the Single Brethren and on May fourth by the Single Sisters.[364] On those days new members were received by promotion from the Older Boys' and Older Girls' Choirs respectively. In the regulation of the Choir system a guardian, termed *Pfleger* and *Pflegerin*, was appointed over the young men and young women to superintend them in a spiritual sense. The Brethren had a *Vorsteher*, a kind

361. The other two farms within the Barony of Nazareth were Gnadenthal, (*Supra*, 201) laid out in 1745, and Friedensthal on the Bushkill, established in 1750. With Christian's Spring they formed a cooperative agricultural and dairy enterprise, and were an important source of food and of support for all Moravian settlements and missions. In 1761 in Friedensthal, Brother John Brandmüller, the chaplain, conducted a press which had been brought to America from Lindsey House, Chelsea, London, and printed a *Harmony of the Gospels* in the Delaware language and numerous German publications. The idyllic settlement of Friedensthal was ended by the Indians in 1771.

362. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 3. November, 1795.*

363. Letter from Sister Mary Penry to her friend, Mrs. Drinker, 1783.

364. One reason for the rather late introduction of Sunday schools to all Moravian towns was that the "choir" system was practically the equivalent of a departmentalized Sabbath School, dividing the congregation into groups according to age, sex and marital status, and providing daily religious training and devotional services.

(Courtesy of Frank A. Banyas)

SINGLE BRETHREN'S AND SINGLE SISTERS' HOUSES

of warden, and the Sisters a *Vorsteherin*, to manage the practical and external concerns of their Houses. Three devotional services graced their daily life: *eine Frühstunde*, or early morning service of song, Scriptural reading and moralizing discourse; the singing of the liturgy at noon; and *eine Singstunde* in the evening in which the "Disciples' House Diary" was usually read.

The Brethren's and Sisters' Houses were doubtlessly the first organized vocational training centers in America, and this educational function was the primary reason for their organization. After completing their formal education in the Moravian day schools or boarding institutions, those youths with mechanical aptitude and predilection could be taught a trade in the Brethren's House. The latter in all Moravian settlements contained accommodations also for boys as young as twelve years of age, whom, because of their lack of desire for further academic pursuits, it was deemed judicious to remove from the regular schools. Here each boy was furnished with tools, a workshop and instruction necessary for mastering the trade of his choice. His day was spent in the handicraft rooms of the Brethren's House or in the adjacent workshops, and on three evenings of the week during the winter months he was instructed in academic and cultural subjects.[365] Some of the Single Brethren had been taught the rudiments of a trade in the boys' school,[366] and with more advanced training in the Brethren's House, became masters in their craft who could then instruct the younger apprentices. Often they were also the vocational teachers, music instructors, and maintenance crew in the boys' schools. The girls' schools drew heavily upon the Single Sisters' Houses for their teachers, especially in fine needlework, and for domestics in the schools' households.[367]

The trades of carpentry,[368] cabinet-maker,[369] chair-maker,[370] weaver,[371] wool-carder,[372] hatter,[373] tailor,[374] shoemaker,[375] ba-

365. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 22. Februar, 1760.*
366. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 21. Juli, 1759.*
367. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 2. Mai, 1765.*
368. Beck, Herbert H., "Town Regulations of Lititz, 1759," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XI, 159.
369. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 26. April, 1799.*
370. Wickersham, James Pyle, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, 155.
371. *Memorabilia der Ledigen Brüder, Lititz, 1776.*
372. The Brethren's House at Lititz also conducted a woolcarding mill on Carter's Creek.
373. Beck, Herbert H., *loc. cit.*
374. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 21. Juli, 1759.*
375. Beck, Herbert H., *loc. cit.*

ker,[376] butcher,[377] chandler,[378] mason,[379] nailsmith,[380] blacksmith,[381] locksmith,[382] and saddle-maker[383] were carried on partly in the Brethren's Houses and partly in nearby shops in which the youths were employed as apprentices. Each industry was taught and supervised by a master craftsman with experienced tradesmen and journeymen as assistants. In the Economy at Christiansbrunn the emphasis was upon pursuits of agriculture and animal husbandry. Before 1752, the Moravians were raising silk-worms, and in that year they were transferred to Christian Spring by Philip Christian Bader.[384] Here, as in most of the Brethren's Houses, was a "scrivener's room" in which the boys and young men did much copying of manuscripts of congregational and choir diaries, missionary accounts and proceedings of religious and secular conferences. These copies were forwarded to Herrnhut and other areas of the world, thereby keeping the entire Unity in touch with its constituent parts. Inestimable credit is due those diarists and copyists for the innumerable and invaluable Moravian data that were transmitted through their meticulous work. The feminine crafts of sewing, knitting, embroidery, tambour, spinning and weaving were taught in all of the Sisters' Houses. The hosiery and confectionery trades were also frequent means of livelihood in their Choir.[385] Some of the domestic chores in the boarding schools were done by these young women.[386]

The Choirs were a judicious arrangement of combining sustenance with vocational training. The thirty-two industries which had already been established in Bethlehem by 1747 grew to sixty-one trades and services by 1759,[387] many of which were carried on by the Brethren's and Sisters' Choirs. Most of the hundred or more items for sale when the first general store was opened in

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376. *Ibid.*
377. *Ibid.*
378. *Ibid.*
379. McMinn, Edwin, *On the Frontier with Colonel Antes*, 31.
380. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 2. September, 1775.*
381. *Protocoll der Prov. Helf. Conf., den 25. August, 1786.*
382. *Ibid.*
383. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 13. Juni, 1766.*
384. Davis, William W. H., *History of Bucks County, Pa.*, 598.
385. Beck, Herbert H., "Town Regulations of Lititz, 1759," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XI, 159.
386. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 2. Mai, 1765.*
387. Banyas, Frank A., The Moravians of Colonial Pennsylvania, 35.

Bethlehem in 1753 were the products of their industry. Their shops and services recruited considerable business even from beyond the general locality of their Houses, enabling their Choirs to be self-supporting and to increase the common treasury of the General Economy. It was not unusal to sell whole droves of cattle, raised and fattened by the Brethren, to the Lancaster and Philadelphia butchers.[388] Those cities also placed many orders with the Single Sisters of Litîtz for their needlework.[389] That Choir also carried on a lucrative trade in stocking weaving during and following the Revolutionary War.[390] When the workshops in the Bethlehem Brethren's House became inadequate to meet the needs of the community in 1754, some of the rooms of the newly-built *Familienhaus*[391] became the working quarters for tailors, shoemakers, weavers, cabinet-makers, and joiners.[392]

The Sisters' and Brethren's Houses were two of the most important sources from which the young people in all Moravian *Ortsgemeinen* received their musical knowledge. Vocal and instrumental instruction was imparted free of charge in the Choir Houses. Talent was sought, and when found, was developed and used as a service in the Church,[393] or to instruct the children in the Moravian day schools or boarding institutions. The founder of the *Collegium Musicum*,[394] Brother John Christopher Pyrlaeus, had his music-room in the Brethren's House in Bethlehem, and of the fourteen members of that musical organization in 1748, most were single men and older boys.[395] In almost every room of the Sisters' House there was an organ, harpsichord, pianoforte, or some other musical instrument.[396]

VI. Summary

Early Moravian education in Pennsylvania had the dual function of supplying a Christian home and parental training for the

388. Mombert, J. I., *op. cit.*, 383.
389. Beck, Herbert H., *Linden Hall*, 5.
390. *Ibid.*
391. *Supra*, 19.
392. Banyas, Frank A., *op. cit.*, 32.
393. *Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 259. Publication of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America.
394. *Supra*, 50f.
395. Langdon, William Chauncey, *Everyday Things in American Life, 1607-1776*, 96.
396. Ogden, John C., *op. cit.*, 11.

children of the Brethren who were giving all their time either to missionary service or to the General Economy, and of offering instruction to the numerous educationally neglected children of other creeds, nationalities and races in the Province. Such comprehensive purposes resulted in a liberal education which aimed to nurture the soul, mind and body of each pupil. To implement this aim of the symmetrical development of spiritual, mental and physical powers, the schools' curricula included three broad areas of educational experience: religious activities, intellectual pursuits and vocational training. These spiritual, cultural and practical experiences were placed variously and appropriately upon the child's course of learning through the four levels of his educational career: the nursery, the primary school, the day-division or boarding-department of the academy or seminary, and the Choir houses.

The Moravian elementary curriculum was comprised of spiritual activities, music and the fundamental processes. At all levels, but especially in the primary school, the Brethren's system of education was pre-eminently religious, endeavoring to develop the pupils' God-given spiritual powers and to restore, as far as possible, the image of God in each human being. It insisted that all knowledge be pursued in the admonition of the Lord and that intellectual ability be reared only upon a firm foundation of Christian education. The curricula of Moravian schools made little distinction between secular and sacred learning. From the nursery school through the theological seminary, each day was filled with countless and varied religious experiences, purposely planned to develop good and useful citizens of the Lord's kingdom. Prominent in the elementary curriculum were *die Viertelstunde* or quarter-hour of devotional service, the *Kinder-Losungen* or *Children's Daily Texts*, formal *Lehrunterricht* or catechetical instruction in Christian doctrine, *agapae* or lovefeasts, programs attending the many religious events and commemorative festivals of the Moravian Church, the memorization and recitation of Scripture verses, and the singing of hymn stanzas. Musical and religious activities were invariably combined, the hymnal holding second place only to the Bible. *Die Singstunde*, or quarter-hour of song-service, was a conspicuous curricular feature. Instruction was also given on such instruments as the spinet, pianoforte, guitar, organ and violin. The elementary curriculum always included the three rudimentary subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic; frequently the domestic activities of sewing, knitting

and spinning; and occasionally grammar, history, nature study, geography and drawing. German was the exclusive language of most of the Brethren's primary schools before 1760, and continued as a secondary language after English became the vernacular.

The Moravians organized two academies, the *Paedagogium* at Nazareth and John Beck's School at Lititz, and two seminaries, the Young Ladies' Boarding School at Bethlehem and Linden Hall at Lititz, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. These schools were the inevitable result of the changed social and economic conditions in America's new national life in which education was to play a broader rôle. To prepare youth to cope with the problems of an emerging democracy the Moravian academies and seminaries offered multiple experiences in five curricular areas: spiritual guidance and moral discipline, intellectual and cultural pursuits, vocational training, social cultivation, and physical exercise.

Like the primary schools these newly-organized secondary institutions existed pre-eminently for the culture of the soul of its pupils, and the fruitage of all their teaching was the development of a consistently Christian character. The idea of a thoroughly Christian home-life was the basis of the whole system of Moravian academies and seminaries, none of which made any attempt to control the denominations of its pupils or to proselyte for the Moravian faith, but in every one of which a useful and joyful devotion to the service of God was the daily way of life. The intellectual and cultural pursuits included the linguistic studies of orthography, prosody, etymology, grammar, syntax, rhetoric, poetic and prose composition, penmanship, punctuation, reading, elocution, German, French, Latin and Greek; the scientific subjects of botany, zoology, chemistry, natural philosophy, geography, geology, mineralogy, astronomy and physiology; mathematical branches, such as mental and written arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mathematical geography, surveying, perspective draughting, and bookkeeping; the social sciences, including ancient, medieval and modern history; the domestic arts of embroidery, tambour and filigree work; and the fine arts of drawing, painting, and vocal and instrumental music. Vocational education was included in the curriculum for the dual purpose of administrative economy for the schools and domestic training for the students, for whom the household arts and crafts were turned into practical educational opportunities. Life in the Moravian

boarding schools was kept consistently pleasant and satisfying by the maintenance of order and orderliness, by a rich abundance of social and recreational activities, by adequate outdoor physical exercise, by happy fellowship and congeniality between pupils and teachers, meticulous attention to all phases of the pupils' physical and mental health, the judicious division of the school-day between labor and relaxation, unpretentious but satisfying meals, attention to personal cleanliness and propriety of dress, the steady emphasis on vocal and instrumental music, periodic holidays for mental relaxation and physical rest, and the observance of holy days and special events in the Moravian Church calendar.

The Choirs of the Single Brethren and of the Single Sisters of every Moravian *Ortsgemeine* were doubtlessly the first organized vocational training centers in America. After completing his formal education in a Moravian day school or boarding institution, a boy of twelve years or older could be taught a trade in the Brethren's House, where he was furnished with tools, a workshop and instruction necessary to become a carpenter, cabinet-maker, chair-maker, weaver, wool-carder, hatter, tailor, shoemaker, baker, butcher, chandler, mason, nailsmith, blacksmith, locksmith or saddle-maker. In the Economy at Christiansbrunn, near Nazareth, the emphasis was upon the pursuits of agriculture and animal husbandry. The feminine crafts of sewing, knitting, embroidery, tambour, spinning and weaving were taught in the Sisters' Houses. The Choirs were a judicious arrangement, combining sustenance with vocational training. Producing many of the products and services needed by their communities, copying manuscripts of congregational proceedings, imparting vocal and instrumental instruction, and serving the schools as vocational teachers and maintenance crew were additional services rendered by the *Chorhäuser*.

Chapter VIII

MORAVIAN EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES AND INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES

I. European Influences on Moravian Philosophy of Education

The pedagogical theories and practices which the Moravians applied to their schools in colonial Pennsylvania had their origin in the long international and interdenominational history of their Church. Through the instrumentality of John Hus[1] as shown in the first chapter of this volume, the enlightened ideas to which his era gave birth were developed into a national religious and educational reformation that proved to be the harbinger of the later and wider Reformation. Through his labor the way was opened for the coming of the *Unitas Fratrum* which was founded by his followers on principles inherited from him, and Bohemia and Moravia were led out of the darkness of the Middle Ages a century before it began to disappear from other countries of continental Europe.[2] His thesis that the Bible is the only infallible norm in all questions of faith and life, and the only source of truth in contrast to decrees of councils and dogmas of any church, emerged triumphantly through centuries of frightful persecution[3] and became the basic principle of all Moravian education, fully endorsed two centuries later by the great Moravian educator, Bishop John Amos Comenius.[4] The great expansion of the Brethren's Church in Bohemia and Moravia and their subsequent migration into Poland, Hungary, Silesia and Prussia, their fraternal intercourse with the German, Swiss and English religious reformers, and their affiliation with the Lutheran, Reformed and Episcopal denominations resulted in the pooling of many cultures and gave their organization a rich background and a unique character. Among the roots in their heritage which nourished, more than others, the growth of the educational philosophy which was transplanted to the new world after 1740 were the writings and practices of such Moravian leaders as Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, Augustus Gottlieb Spangen-

1. 1369-1415. *Supra*, 1.
2. Sovocol, Leslie, "John Hus: His Philosophy and Theology," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. 89, No. 354, p. 209.
3. *Supra*, 1ff.
4. Comenius, John Amos, *The Bequest of the Unity of the Brethren*, translated by Matthew Spinka.

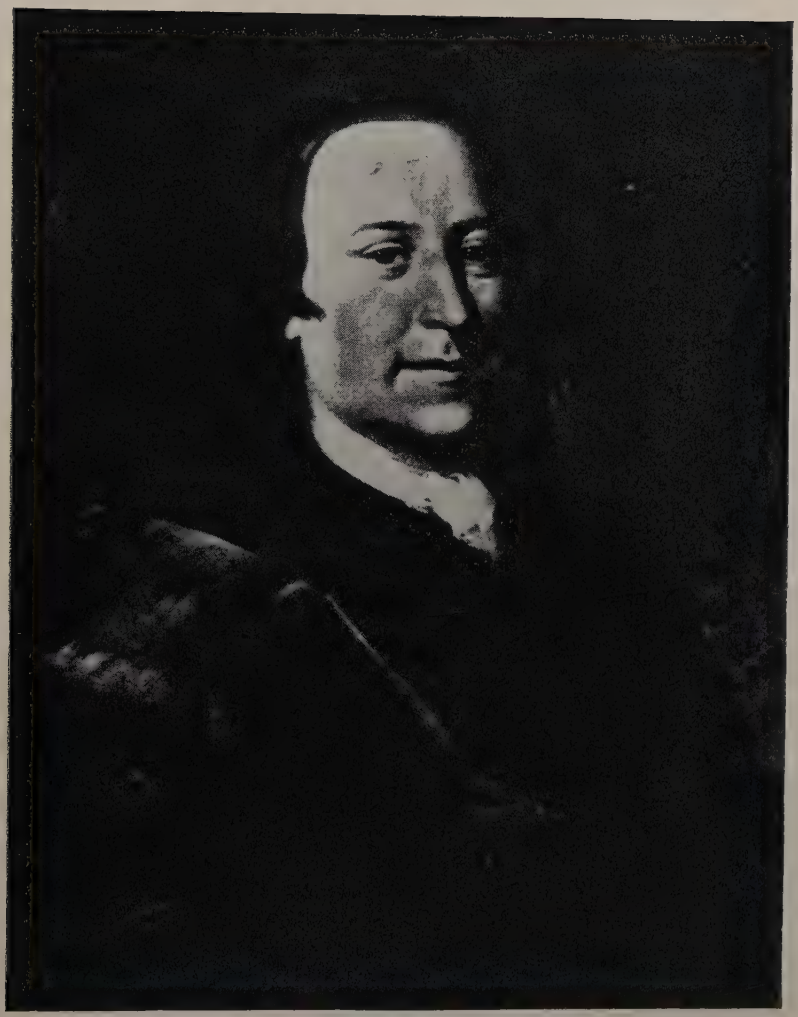
berg and Paul Eugene Layritz; the teachings of non-Moravians, including Wolfgang Ratke, Augustus Hermann Francke and Erhard Weigel; influential German universities, such as Halle and Jena; and the Brethren's own schools established in their Saxon settlement of Herrnhut and elsewhere.

A. The Religious Educational Principles of Zinzendorf

A forceful influence on Moravian education was the Pietistic philosophy of August Hermann Francke, centered at the University of Halle in the eighteenth century and disseminated in variously modified forms through Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf among the Brethren's settlements in Europe and America. The latter was not only the founder, generous patron and bishop of the Renewed Moravian Church, the recognized *Ordinarius* of the *Unitas Fratrum*, ecclesiastical organizer and administrator, scholarly theologian, indefatigable preacher and extensive traveler, but also the honored founder of the Brethren's educational institutions on both continents, a successful teacher, an original contributor to educational theory and method, and a prolific writer of pedagogical treatises. The three latter attributes of Zinzendorf are of particular concern to the present inquiry into Moravian principles and practices in education.

The two great Pietistic strongholds in Europe during the eighteenth century were the University of Halle and the village of Herrnhut, the former the home of Lutheran Pietism, the latter the fountain-head of Moravian activity.[5] Count Zinzendorf was the link between those two Saxon centers, and the reorganization of the Moravian Church became directly related to the Pietistic movement. His association with Pietism began on the very day of his birth and baptism, May 26, 1700, for which occasion Philipp Jacob Spener, the founder of Pietism, came all the way from Berlin to Dresden to be godfather for the infant Nicolaus, son of George Ludwig von Zinzendorf, a Lutheran premier at the Court of Saxony.[6] When the boy was only six months old, his father died; and in 1704, when his mother married a Prussian officer and moved to Berlin, young Nicolaus was taken to Grosshennersdorf and placed under the care of his grandmother, the widow Henriette, Countess von Gersdorf, a woman whose high degree of piety and culture brought her into frequent communica-

5. Sweet, William W., *Religion in Colonial America*, 211.
6. Spangenberg, Augustus Gottlieb, *Zinzendorfs Leben*, 5.



(Courtesy of Publication Committee, Moravian Church, Bethlehem)

NICHOLAS LOUIS, COUNT OF ZINZENDORF

tions with Spener, Francke and others of strong Pietistic inclination,[7] and from whom, no doubt, the impressionable young Count received his deeply religious nature, his sentimental gift of poetry and song, and his abiding love for music. The early awakening of his own soul through the experience of Christ in his heart was the source for his later conviction that the spiritual conversion and culture of a child is the only practical basis for his educational training. At the age of ten he was sent to the Royal School at Halle, where he boarded with the Pietist, August Hermann Francke, superintendent of the school.[8] Just as his fortunate early childhood experiences predisposed him to regard the Christian home as ideally the first and foremost religious educational institution, so his adolescent training at Halle influenced him later to adopt a program of institutionalized training in Europe and America. Here, when he was only fifteen, he organized among his fellow students "The Order of the Mustard Seed," the constituents of which pledged themselves to transmit the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the spiritually neglected the world over,[9] which pledge Zinzendorf so honorably redeemed after 1732 when he inspired, organized and financed the innumerable evangelical missionary enterprises of the Renewed Moravian Church.[10] After a course in jurisprudence at the orthodox Lutheran University of Wittenberg, and his subsequent *Wanderjahre*, he served in important offices at the court of Saxony, consistent with his noble birth and ancestry and his high social standing.

Several potent factors, however, were at work in unison to change the course of Zinzendorf's life and to influence the destiny of a distinct denomination of Protestantism. His deeply spiritual nature rebelled against the official dignity of his state appointments, and he longed for the ministry as his life career. Erdmuth Dorothea von Reuss, whom he married in 1722, was in sympathy with his religious views, encouraging and assisting him in his desire to serve his Master. Previous to his marriage, the Count had entered upon his duties as proprietor of the estate of Berthelsdorf, being proclaimed lord of the manor and receiving

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7. Sovocol, Leslie, "Moravian Missions," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. 89, No. 353, p. 87.

8. Spangenberg, Augustus G., *op. cit.*, 35.

9. *Ibid.*, 48.

10. Meyer, Henry H., *Child Nature and Nurture according to Zinzendorf*, 15-16.

the attendant tributes of homage from the vassals thereon.[11] Shortly thereafter, in 1722, a small band of the descendants of the ancient *Unitas Fratrum,* under the leadership of Christian David, fled to Saxony from the oppression of the Hapsburgers and the Jesuits in Moravia, and were granted a tract of land at Berthelsdorf upon which they established Herrnhut, or "The Watch of the Lord." Within five years it was a town of thirty houses and three hundred inhabitants, two-thirds of whom were refugees, including Moravians, Quakers, Mennonites, Schwenckfelders and others.[12] By 1735, it had grown to 1,000 souls gathered out of many nations.[13] The several schools established by Zinzendorf at Herrnhut were modeled after those of Spener, Francke and other Pietists.[14] In 1723, he founded a day school for poor children and a girls' dormitory and school at Berthelsdorf, the village adjoining Herrnhut. The following year he was instrumental in establishing an *Adels-Paedagogium* modeled directly on the lines of the similar institution at Halle.[15] In 1727, the Herrnhut *Anstalt,* a boarding school for boys and girls, was opened;[16] in 1735, a Latin school was organized, which in 1739 was superseded by a new school at Herrnhaag, in Wetteravia, following Zinzendorf's banishment from Saxony, and which was again returned to the vicinity of Herrnhut in 1754.[17] In 1736, boarding schools for boys and girls were established at Herrnhaag, in which, in 1744, the "congregational institutes" were opened in accordance with Zinzendorf's hope of rearing groups of extraordinary religious leaders.[18] A second *Paedagogium* was opened in 1739 in connection with a theological seminary, both of which were later transferred to Barby.[19] The little children of full-time religious workers and Moravian missionaries in foreign lands were sent to the Nursery (*Pilger-Kinderhaus*), started at

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11. Gerhard, Elmer S., and Schulz, Selina G., *ed.*, "The Schwenkfelders and the Moravians Two Hundred Years Ago," *Schwenckfeldiana,* I, 28.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *An Extract of the Rev. John Wesley's Journal, from his embarking for Georgia to his Return to London,* I, 10.
14. Minutes of the Workers' Conference, Herrnhut, July 1727.
15. This institution was discontinued in 1727 because Francke had expressed fear regarding its effect upon the prosperity of its mother-institution at Halle.
16. Meyer, Henry H., *op. cit.,* 144.
17. Uttendoerfer, Otto, *Zinzendorf und die Jugend,* 14.
18. Meyer, Henry H., *op. cit.,* 145.
19. *Ibid.*

Marienborn in 1744, at Lindheim in 1746, and at Lausitz in 1752.[20] This list of schools has significance because it emphasizes the deep concern of Zinzendorf for the proper education, and especially for the religious education of all children living in or near his estate, and because later they served as the models and supplied the trained personnel for the Brethren's schools in Pennsylvania.

For his generous reception of the exiles from Moravia and elsewhere, the Count was banished from Saxony in 1736, but his new evangelical career as the central figure of Moravianism had begun and continued to satisfy his pious spirit until his death in 1760. His religious labors in behalf of the Brethren took him to Frankfurt, to Holland, to England, to the West Indies, and in 1741 to America to take up land for his followers, to explore the missionary prospects among both the aborigines and the settlers, to bring together the numerous German religious groups in Pennsylvania into a single spiritual communion through the medium of a series of thirty-six conferences or synods, and to supply the educationally destitute settlers with the privilege of schools, the first of which was begun under the direction of his sixteen-year-old daughter, Henriette Benigna Justina, in Germantown on May 4, 1742.[21] All of those early schools have been traced in detail in the preceding chapters of this volume.

From the convergence in Zinzendorf of the three strains of his religious heritage, those from Luther, Comenius and Francke, from his own nature, experiences and convictions, and from his understanding of the fact of the spiritual growth of children derived from his lifelong work in their behalf,[22] there emerged an educational theory peculiarly his own.[23] His chief contribution to pedagogy was restricted to the religious training of children and youth. *Alles aus Christus, durch Christus, mit Christus, und zur Verherrlichung Christi* was the slogan of his Christ-centered philosophy,[24] and the example of the Child Jesus became "the daily food in the children's classes."[25] As a pedagogue, rather

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20. *Ibid.*
21. *Supra*, 170f.
22. Zinzendorf dated his interest in youth from the emotional revival which broke out among the children at Herrnhut on August 17, 1727.
23. Meyer, Henry H., *op. cit.*, 17.
24. Uttendoerfer, Otto, *op. cit.*, 30.
25. Zinzendorf, Nicolaus Ludwig von, *Homiliae über die Wunden-Litaney, den 18. August, 1747.*

than as a theologian,[26] he insisted that the individual begins life as the child of God through the universal redemption wrought by Christ on the Cross, that he is innocent and susceptible to both divine and human guidance, responding as naturally to the good as to the evil in his environment. What is to become of this pure, sensitive human being was, in Zinzendorf's opinion, the problem, the responsibility and the sacred trust of the adult community and congregation.[27]

Central in Zinzendorf's appreciation of child nature was his recognition of the principle of free development in the individual,[28] through which, he maintained, happiness, straightforwardness, honesty, self-knowledge, initiative and judgment could be fostered.[29] Not compulsion, but worthy example and sympathetic guidance were recommended by him in all teaching, including moral and religious training.[30] Free development in the religious experience of the child did not mean random growth, but rather growth under the inner guidance of the Holy Spirit, Who could be trusted to bring each individual life to its fullest realization. The problem of religious nurture was one of preserving the child in his original innocence and then keeping from him all influences that would mar his spirit and providing an environment favorable to spiritual growth. Lovingly should children be drawn to the Christian life, and by gentle, uncoerced methods should they be brought up *in,* and not *into* "the chastening and admonition of the Lord." The Brethren's unique type of school, the boarding institutions or *Anstalten,* were preferred by Zinzendorf because they made free religious development possible by removing the hindrances of an unfavorable environment, so that the work of the Holy Ghost would not be hampered in stimulating and guiding individual growth.[31]

Zinzendorf recognized that spiritual growth paralleled physical and mental development,[32] and had as its basis the guiding

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26. Zinzendorf disagreed with Francke's idea of the innate corruption of children and the necessity of the enforced consciousness of their lost estate followed by a more or less dramatic *Durchbruch* into the assurance of salvation, opposing the rough methods which were applied to him at Halle in an attempt to cure his pride and self-will.
27. Meyer, Henry H., *op. cit.,* 121.
28. *Ibid.,* 102.
29. *Diarium der Hütten, den 9. Juni, 1751.*
30. Zinzendorf, Nicolaus, *Kinder-Reden, den 12. Mai, 1758.*
31. Meyer, Henry H., *op. cit.,* 105-6.
32. *Ibid.,* 122.

tutelage and molding influence of the Holy Spirit within the heart and on the unfolding of the intellectual powers.[33] In his frank recognition of the religious development in the individual he departed from the Lutheran doctrine of baptismal regeneration and from the Pietistic formula of conversion.[34] Individual growth, physically, mentally, and spiritually, required a corresponding increase in service to God and mankind; and if along the way the soul-awakening experience of the realization of personal salvation should come, as it ought, life was complete. Proper nurture and training were essential in the child's growth in grace, and for this guidance Zinzendorf placed the responsibility on the Christian home, the school, and the religious congregation. Together the parents, the teachers and the pastors must determine the organization and conduct of religious education. The essential sequence "from experience to comprehension,"[35] the preference for devotional and inspirational character of religious training over formal catechetical instruction and memorization for young children, the method of more intensive cultivation of the religious life for individuals of all ages by means of the "choir" system or organization,[36] the institution of *Kinder-Eltern,* or special spiritual counselors of the children, to supplement the religious training of the home, of the choirs and of the school, are important corollaries to Zinzendorf's theory of religious education.

Among the fruitful results of his association with children on two continents, extending over more than thirty years, were Zinzendorf's innumerable educational writings, which included books for children, talks to children, and exhortations to adults concerning children. These writings, in turn, were one of the important media for the dissemination of his educational philosophy to America. His books for children comprised catechisms, collections of hymns, litanies, and memory texts, of which the following were known to be used in the Brethren's schools in Pennsylvania:

Lautere Milch der Lehre von Jesu Christo (Pure Milk of the Teachings concerning Jesus Christ) was published in 1723 at Lobun, and offers seventy-eight questions and answers arranged *in accordance with the comprehension of junior and little chil-*

33. *Ibid.*, 124.
34. *Ibid.*, 179.
35. Uttendoerfer, Otto, *op. cit.*, 82.
36. *Supra,* 10f.

dren, prepared with the best of intentions in honor of the Saviour, for the benefit of little children and the advantage of parents. Its approach is less theological and more pedagogical; its method, inductive; its motivation, love, trust and devotion, rather than fear and command.[37] *Gewisser Grund,* Zinzendorf's second catechism, published in 1725, belongs to the category of *Spruch-Catechismi* popular at that time. It was more theological in terms and was intended for the instruction of older boys and girls. Luther's smaller catechism, *Enchiridion,* was incorporated therein.[38] *Lehr-Buch (A Manual of Doctrine or a Second Essay to bring into the Form of Question and Answer as well the Fundamental Doctrines, as the other Scripture-Knowledge of the Protestant Congregations who for 300 Years past have been called The Brethren),* written by Zinzendorf during his journey to St. Thomas in the West Indies, was printed in 1742. It is a simple inductive question-and-answer consideration of the Christian faith as interpreted by the Moravians in the light of personal religious experience.[39] *Der Kleine Catechismus* and *Kurzer Catechismus* were both prepared during Zinzendorf's sojourn in Pennsylvania, 1741-42; the former was intended for the use of German Lutheran settlers; the latter, to encourage religious faith among the German colonists of the Reformed persuasion.[40]

In his religious teaching, Zinzendorf made great use of worship and of instruction through song, employing carefully selected Christ-grounded and experience-centered hymn stanzas to supplement and to interpret didactic, theological or biblical statements of religious truths.[41] His first hymn book for children, *Kinder-Lieder,* was printed in 1727, reprinted in 1754, and in 1789 combined with a collection of Bible quotations by Samuel Lieberkühn entitled *Hauptinhalt der Lehre Jesu Christi.*[42] Immediately after his arrival in Pennsylvania, the Count prepared for publication a small collection of hymns, some old and some new entitled, *Hirtenlieder von Bethlehem, enthaltend eine kleine Sammlung evangelischer Lieder.* The printing of this volume marked the beginning of his relationship with Christopher Saur, the combative printer of Germantown.[43] It was revised and re-

37. Meyer, Henry H., *op. cit.,* 21-30.
38. *Ibid.,* 30-37.
39. *Ibid.,* 37-42.
40. *Ibid.,* 43-48.
41. Ibid., 88.
42. *Supra,* 221.
43. Gerhard, Elmer S., and Schulz, Selina G., *ed., op. cit.,* 35.

published in 1754. *Alter und Neuer Brüder-Gesang,* 1753, and *Sarons-Büchlein,* 1754, were two more of Zinzendorf's hymnals, the latter containing selected verses from different hymns arranged under topics of religious instruction.[44] *Litaneyen-Büchlein,* 1754, was the first of similar subsequent publications appearing at intervals between 1757 and 1816, all of which contained separate liturgical hymns and litanies for various choir groups, including those for children.[45]

Kinder-Loosungen[46] were prepared by Zinzendorf for each year from 1754 to 1761. The first of these children's "Daily Texts," *Das Kinder-Büchlein,* 1755, comprised not only Scripture verses but also stanzas from the children's hymns of Zinzendorf's *Sarons-Büchlein.*[47] A collection of *Kinder-Oden,* composed for the special services of the Children's Choirs, was published with the *Kinder-Loosungen* for 1758.[48]

Eighty-five sermons and talks were selected from those which Zinzendorf delivered at gatherings of children and young people in various Moravian congregations between 1755 and 1758 for a published volume entitled *Kinder-Reden,*[49] all of which emphasized the personal contemplation of Christ's redemptive suffering, the eternal theme in his theological teaching. This volume and his many other addresses to children between 1727 and 1760, which crowd the manuscript records of Herrnhut and Bethlehem, together with his *Ehechor-Reden,* brief selected talks delivered before the choir of married persons during the interval from 1744 to 1747,[50] are invaluable sources for the study of Zinzendorf's educational philosophy.

B. Spangenberg's Contributions to Moravian Education

Next to Zinzendorf, no one exercised greater influence upon the organization and development of the Moravian Church in Pennsylvania than Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, born in Klettenberg, Germany, on July 15, 1704. He was the youngest son of the Reverend George Spangenberg, a Lutheran minister, who died when Augustus was only ten years old. After having completed

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44. Meyer, Henry H., *op. cit.,* 80.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Supra,* 217.
47. *Supra,* 294.
48. Meyer, Henry H., *op. cit.,* 87.
49. *Ibid.,* 98-99.
50. *Ibid.,* 68.

his preliminary studies at the grammar school at Ilefeld, young Spangenberg was admitted to the University of Jena in 1722, from which he graduated in 1726. Here "it pleased God by some that preached His word with power to overturn the youth's heart,"[51] and the fatherly guidance especially of Dr. Johannes F. Buddeus, professor of ecclesiastical history of Jena, caused his protege to pursue the study of theology instead of jurisprudence. Spangenberg's acquaintance with Zinzendorf and the subsequent re-direction of his life-work date to the Count's first visit to Jena in 1727, through which a number of university students there became intensely interested in the new venture at Herrnhut. On their cordial invitation, Zinzendorf re-visited Jena in 1728, winning the sympathetic accord of many more students to himself and his people.[52] Spangenberg was further impressed by a personal inspection of Herrnhut in 1730.[53]

After he had taken his Master's degree at Jena, he pursued his studies at the University of Halle while serving there as assistant professor of theology and as superintendent of its Orphan House. His disagreement with the Pietists of Halle on matters of doctrine, his intimate connection with Zinzendorf, and his sympathetic interest in the Brethren's settlement at Herrnhut caused him to be dismissed from Halle in 1733.[54] In the same year he repaired to Herrnhut where he united with the Brethren's Renewed Church and became Zinzendorf's active assistant.[55] One of his first missionary commissions was to conduct a band of sixteen Moravians to Georgia in 1735,[56] where he later made the acquaintance of John Wesley who had been sent from England to be minister of the Episcopal Church in Savannah.[57] On March 15, 1736, he left Georgia for Pennsylvania, but his first stay here was abbreviated to an interval of less than six months by order of Bishop Nitschmann to proceed on a mission to the West Indies.[58] Between 1737 and 1739 he was back on the banks of the Savannah to manage the Brethren's difficult state of affairs caused by the trouble which was then and there brewing between

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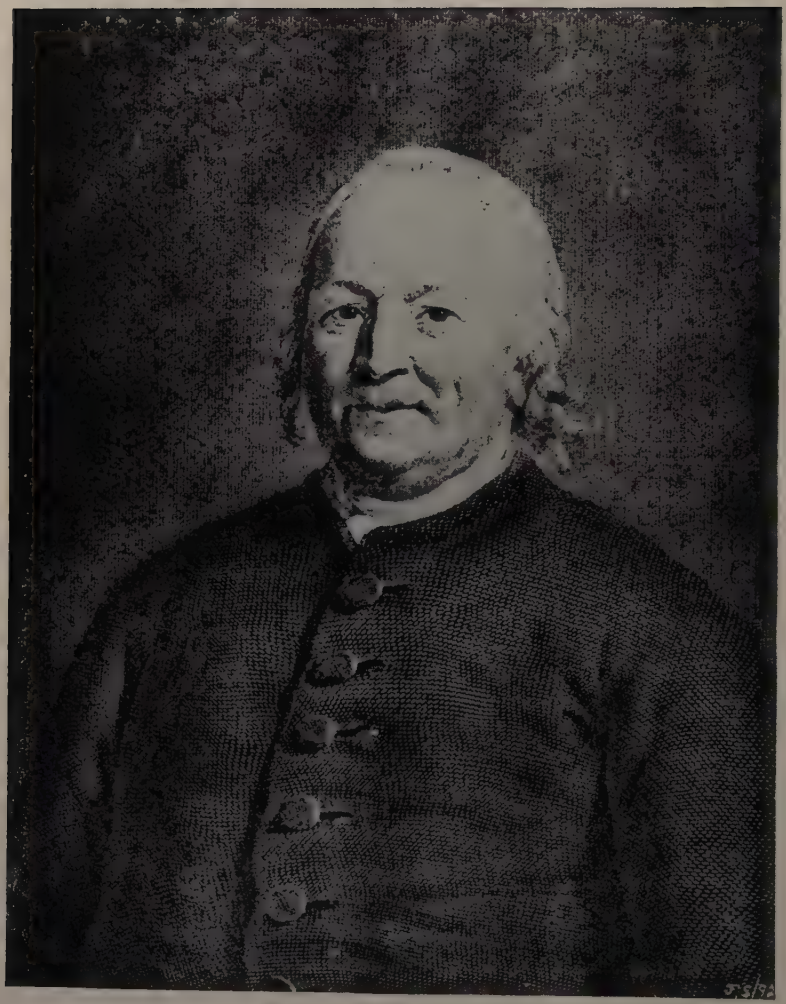
51. *An Extract of the Rev. John Wesley's Journal*, I, 9.
52. Hamilton, J. Taylor, *History of the Moravian Church*, 46.
53. Gerhard, Elmer S., and Schulz, Selina G., *ed., op. cit.*, 45.
54. *Ibid.*, 46.
55. *An Extract of the Rev. John Wesley's Journal, loc. cit.*
56. *Ibid.*, 10.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Gerhard, Elmer S., and Schulz, Selina G., *ed., op. cit.*, 48.



(Courtesy of Publication Committee, Moravian Church, Bethlehem)

AUGUSTUS GOTTLIEB SPANGENBERG

the English and the Spaniards, and which finally caused the Georgian colony to migrate to Pennsylvania.[59]

For several years following his return to Europe in 1739, he was engaged in spreading the Moravian name and doctrine in England. After his consecration as bishop in 1744, he and his wife, the widow Immig whom he had married in Marienborn in 1739, came to America, arriving in Bethlehem on November 30th, to take charge of the entire range of Moravian activities in the western hemisphere, thereby relieving Peter Boehler who returned to Europe. During his five-year sojourn in Pennsylvania, he supervised the missions among the Indians, made provisions for the Brethren's evangelical work in the West Indies and Surinam, arranged and superintended the economic life and enterprises at Bethlehem and Nazareth, directed the establishment of the numerous *Stadt- und Landgemeinen* in the colonies, coordinated the routes of the itinerant preachers and teachers to and from those scattered congregations, presided over the sessions of the Pennsylvania Synods, and founded schools for the children of Moravian and non-Moravian parents. His firm but friendly leadership of his Brethren in the strange land of America won him the affectionate epithet of "Brother Joseph," for, in the words of Henry Antes,[60] "Like Brother Joseph, he is resourceful and kind in the treatment of his Brethren. The Lord was with Joseph in Egypt, and I know no man more desirous of the presence of the Lord than our Joseph in Pennsylvania."[61] After a two-year interval in Europe during which his wife died, Bishop Spangenberg paid his fourth and last visit to America, and remained here until he was finally recalled to Germany in 1762 to fill the vacancy caused by Zinzendorf's death two years previous. After three more decades of multifarious duties in Europe in behalf of the Brethren's Church, he died at the ripe age of eighty-eight years on September 18, 1792.[62]

Both Spangenberg and Zinzendorf were redeemed Christians, scholarly theologians, indefatigable workers, travelers, missionaries, preachers, teachers and bishops of the Moravian Church.

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59. *Supra*, 6f.

60. *Supra*, 162ff.

61. Fries, Adelaide L., *The Road to Salem*, 34.

62. Unless otherwise documented, the facts for this brief account of Spangenberg's life were taken from "The Schwenkfelders and the Moravians Two Hundred Years Ago," *Schwenkfeldiana*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 44-51, edited by Elmer S. Gerhard and Selina Gerhard Schulz.

Their nature and abilities were, however, decidedly different, those of the one in many ways complementing the other's to perfect harmony for the ultimate good of the Church. Zinzendorf's mystical views were offset by Spangenberg's realistic ones; the former's extravagances in speech and deed were rendered sane through the latter's modification of them in practical application; the former's frequent irrational actions and indiscreet attacks were apologized for and amended by the latter's tact and moderation; and the former's creative and imaginative genius needed the latter's organizational and administrative powers. It was Spangenberg who set off the educational spark which was subsequently kindled by the Brethren's establishment of many Moravian schools and missions in Pennsylvania. During his American sojourn between 1744 and 1749, he reported to the authorities in Herrnhut that "the Gospel must be preached to the many thousands who know nothing of it," that "it may be that the hour of grace has sounded for the Indians," and that "in the whole country there are few schools and there is almost no one who makes the youth his concern."[63] His coming to Pennsylvania marked the beginning of the General Economy,[64] in which, as in the apostolic days, "all that believed were together, and had all things common."[65] This system which proved so effective spiritually and economically had been worked out by Spangenberg under sixteen well-conceived rules based upon the experience at Herrnhut. He was also responsible for the introduction of the "Choir" system of social organization, the educational implications of which have been considered in detail in previous chapters of this volume. As an educational co-worker of Zinzendorf, he too visited and addressed many children's meetings in the Brethren's various settlements of Pennsylvania, and from the records of this activity, which extended over an approximate total of two decades, can be gleaned the kernels of his pedagogical philosophy.

As his basic thesis he held that education must assume the three-fold function of purifying the soul,[66] expanding the mind,[67]

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63. Spangenberg's "Report to the Authorities in Europe," in Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton's *History of the Moravian Church*, 104-5. "Country," as used by Spangenberg in this quotation, referred undoubtedly only to the German settlements of Pennsylvania.
64. *Supra*, 9ff.
65. *The Holy Bible*, Acts 2:44.
66. Spangenberg, Augustus G., *Etwas von der Pflege des Leibes für Kinder*, 46.
67. *Ibid.*, 42.

and developing the body,[68] all for the glory of God and the welfare of humanity. The burden of this sacred responsibility Spangenberg divided equally between the teachers and the parents. To the latter he explained his theory of equality in the democracy of God's kingdom, as follows:

> . . . Children are a precious gift from the Lord. They are His property and will revert to Him in due time. Those of our Church should be so consecrated to the Lord that no mother or father will ever refer to them as *my* children. They should be reared for the Saviour, who has the right to do with them as He will. Therefore, parents have no reason to rejoice over their offspring than over any other children—the entire Choir of children is the Lord's delight and should be ours.[69]

This divine origin and destiny of children imposed a sacred obligation upon the Brethren as parents, whom Spangenberg exhorted

> to love and honor their children as souls of the Saviour, to set a perfect example for them by walking closely to the Lord and thereby effecting their emulation and winning their respect, and to remember humbly and shamefully that the weaknesses in their children's natures are the inevitable inheritance of their own.[70]

Spangenberg's literary efforts were not as ambitious as those of Zinzendorf, but the volume which he published at Barby in 1792 under the title *Etwas von der Pflege des Leibes für Kinder* is educationally significant as an early textbook of physiology and hygiene and for its pedagogical doctrine of the harmonious development and simultaneous growth of the child's physical, mental and spiritual faculties. His plan for meticulous bodily care stems from the typically Moravian premise that the human body is the image, the temple and the property of God.[71] Cleanliness of body and mind,[72] propriety in dress[73] and demeanor,[74] moderation and balance in diet,[75] proper and sufficient physical exercise,[76] adequate sleep and mental relaxation,[77] moral integrity,[78] diligence

68. *Ibid.*, 6.
69. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 28. Oktober, 1756.*
70. *Ibid., den 29. März, 1761.*
71. Spangenberg, Augustus G., *op. cit.*, 6-8.
72. *Ibid.*, 14.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*, 28.
75. *Ibid.*, 22.
76. *Ibid.*, 28.
77. *Ibid.*, 32.
78. *Ibid.*, 35.

in learning,[79] and faith in God[80] are the child's obligations to himself and to his Maker, the implementation thereof being the responsibility of the home and school.

C. The Pedagogical Prescriptions of Bishop Layritz

Five years after the appearance of Christopher Dock's *Schulordnung* in Skippack, Pennsylvania, usually considered the first American treatise on pedagogy, Bishop Paul Eugene Layritz completed a Moravian work along similar lines at Barby in Germany. The following year, 1776, he published it under the title *Betrachtungen über eine verständige und christliche Erziehung der Kinder.* That volume of *Considerations Concerning a Rational and Christian Education of Children* contained five chapters, in the course of which was outlined the child's development from his conception and prenatal stages to adulthood, with appropriate activities and methods recommended for maximum physical, mental and spiritual growth in each stage. Its 216 pages furnished a concise account of Moravian pedagogical principles, set uniform standards for educational practices in all the Brethren's settlements, and from the date of its publication became a handbook of methodology for the Moravian schoolmasters in Pennsylvania[81] and a reliable manual to guide parents in the rearing of their offspring.[82]

Education, according to Bishop Layritz, was an evolutionary and a comprehensive process for all youth of both sexes, and included a thorough command of the fundamental skills,[83] a wide cultural appreciation,[84] practical training in a suitable vocation for boys[85] and in the domestic arts and sciences for girls,[86] an understanding of civic and social responsibilities,[87] and a realization, in heart rather than in mind, of the spiritual values of life.[88] This five-fold program of education he would motivate by evan-

79. *Ibid.*, 42.
80. *Ibid.*, 46.
81. *Hauptpunkte der Synode in Barby, 1775.*
82. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Protocoll einer Conferenz von Arbeiter der Stadt- und Landgemeinen, Bethlehem, den 11.-14. Juni, 1786.*
83. Layritz, Paul Eugene, *Betrachtungen über eine verständige und christliche Erziehung der Kinder,* 119.
84. *Ibid.*, 125-6.
85. *Ibid.*, 149.
86. *Ibid.*, 164.
87. *Ibid.*, 187.
88. *Ibid.*, 138.

gelical principles, not by coercion.[89] To the learning thereof he would apply the inductive[90] and catechetical[91] methods, but not in a mechanical or enforced manner.[92] Whatever disciplinary measures were needed should be inflicted only "in the admonition of the Lord."[93]

Every childhood trait Layritz would turn into educational capital. The abundant native energy which makes children active and keeps them busy he would harness into wholesome learning activity.[94] He maintained that the strong sensual perceptions of children and their insatiable curiosity supplied the propitious time, created the conducive atmosphere, and set the educational stage for the teacher's presentation of the lesson.[95] Because the memory of children is pliable and easily impressed, he recommended that the study of languages and history be introduced early in their school career.[96] The question-and-answer method of teaching he found most appropriate to the imitative and talkative nature of all small children.[97] Its credulousness and underdeveloped reasoning powers made childhood the ideal period for the establishment of a deep religious foundation, he averred.[98]

To the parents Layritz ascribed definite responsibility in the education of their children, warning them against such erroneous thoughts and fallacious reasoning as:

1. Our children need to learn no more than we did.
2. Our children, especially our daughters, should not be reared in a superior fashion.
3. If parents themselves regard the school as a kind of necessary stable and jail, instead of a happy and pleasant place for their children, and if they force them to go or use school as a threat and punishment, they will instill within their children's mind a hateful and scorned concept of school.[99]

On the positive side, Layritz exhorted parents to commend school to their offspring as "one of their richest earthly blessings and pleasures, as a place of joy in which they can learn what will be

89. *Ibid.*, 93.
90. *Ibid.*, 131.
91. *Ibid.*, 139.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *Ibid.*, 93.
94. *Ibid.*, 115.
95. *Ibid.*, 114.
96. *Ibid.*, 115.
97. *Ibid.*, 116.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid.*, 119-121.

useful for all the days of their lives.'"[100] He urged the Brethren to respect, honor and love their children's teachers and to coordinate their parental efforts with those of the school's personnel in behalf of the maximum development of their sons and daughters.

II. Moravian Methods of Instruction

A. The Jena Method

1. The Relation of the University of Jena to the Renewed Moravian Church

In the preceding pages it has been shown that the Moravians were profoundly affected, through the influence of European universities and their scholarly graduates, by the best educational practices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Jena was the university with which the Brethren of the Renewed Church identified themselves more closely than any other. Zinzendorf's and Spangenberg's early connection with that Saxon center of learning has already been described.[101] Peter Boehler, John Frederick Cammerhof, John Christopher Pyrlaeus, Francis Lembke, and John Michael Graff were other prominent Brethren who used their training at Jena subsequently to advance the cause of Moravianism in Europe and America.

The sympathetic tie which had linked many of the students and professors at the University of Jena to the life and doctrines of the Brethren at Herrnhut was strengthened in 1737, when Christian Renatus, the twelve-year-old son of Count Zinzendorf, was sent to Jena in care of John Nitschmann to pursue a course in the liberal arts.[102] While there, he was admitted into the pious

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100. *Ibid.*, 121.

101. Jena's earliest influence on the Brethren's philosophy of education can be traced, at least indirectly, to Wolfgang Ratich (Ratke), 1571-1635, the immediate forerunner and pedagogical inspiration of John Amos Comenius. After Ratich had succeeded in interesting the Duke of Saxon-Weimar and other state officials in his plans of educational reform, the latter were investigated by four professors of the University of Jena and were given a favorable and enthusiastic verdict by each of them. His report on the art of teaching, written at their request and approved in 1614, was incorporated into the educational philosophy of Jena and no doubt transmitted, at least in some measure, to the many Moravian students who later attended that university. (*The Encyclopedia Americana*, XXIII, 227.)

102. Reincke, Abraham, *A Register of Members of the Moravian Church and of Persons Attached to said Church in this Country and Abroad between 1727 and 1754*, 35.

student organization which had been formed under the direction of Spangenberg in 1728 to foster Christian fellowship with the Brethren through correspondence and personal intercourse with Herrnhut.[103] The members of that "Christian Association" met weekly "at 6 P.M., and the members were classed into 10 bands."[104] After the expulsion of that band of sympathizers in April of 1739, some of them accompanied the young nobleman on his return home to Marienborn, near Frankfurt-am-Main, and subsequently a number of them entered the Moravian Theological Seminary at Herrnhaag under Polycarp Müller and Paul Layritz. It was from this source that the Moravian Church first filled the ranks of her educated ministry and school faculties with such consecrated Christians and learned scholars as Abraham Reincke, Christian Philip Bader, Bernhard Adam Grube, and John de Watteville who later became the son-in-law of Zinzendorf.

2. The Educational Supervision of Christian Philip Bader

Bishop Matthew Gottfried Hehl of Tübingen, Germany, who had stood at the head of the educational department at Herrnhut, was consecrated as bishop of the Moravian Church on September 24, 1751. Soon thereafter he accompanied Spangenberg to America to replace Bishop John Frederick Cammerhof who had died in Pennsylvania earlier that year. The visitation and supervision of the religious and educational activities in the Brethren's *Landgemeinen* throughout Pennsylvania became Bishop Hehl's special assignment.[105] The problems of the country congregational schools were many and burdensome, and the teachers thereof were in need of all the administrative guidance and instructional direction which the capable Brother Hehl could offer them.[106] This itinerary plan of school supervision proved to be so beneficial that it was maintained as a regular department in Moravian educational administration. To the minister of one of the country congregations who had formerly studied and taught at the University of Jena, namely Philip Christian Bader, was entrusted the important duty of visiting the town and country congregational schools at regular intervals for the purpose of acquainting

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103. *Cf. Büdingische Sammlung*, Part 7, No. 8 for a letter addressed to the Brethren at Herrnhut, subscribed by upwards of 100 students at Jena and dated August 17, 1728.

104. Reincke, Abraham, *op. cit.*, 36.

105. Cranz, David, *Alte und Neue Brüder-Historie*, 549.

106. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 7. September, 1752.*

their teachers with the most effective and approved methods of instruction.[107]

Brother Bader was born on July 15, 1715 in Hangenbietenheim, near Strasburg in Lower Alsatia, where his father was a minister. He was a member of the "Christian Association" of the University of Jena students attached to the Brethren in 1739. For several years after uniting with the Moravian Church in 1747, he taught in the *Paedagogium* of Schlössel near Gnadenfrei and in that of Grosshennersdorf near Herrnhut. He came to America in 1751, and in June of the following year was appointed "lector" for the settlements in the Nazareth tract and stationed at Christian's Spring. In addition to his educational supervision of the *Landgemeinen* of Pennsylvania, he served as pastor in several of the Brethrens' town and country congregations, particularly in Lancaster and Hebron. He died at Old Nazareth on March 15, 1797.[108]

Bader is known to have made at least three supervisory visits to the country congregational schools. His first trip took him to Donegal, Heidelberg, Quittopehille, Warwick, Lancaster, Allemaengel and Oley during an interval of three months from November 16, 1752 to February 28, 1753. During September and October of 1753 he was again on a tour of the *Landgemeinen*. On his third journey, extending over the two-month period between February 25 and April 20, 1754, he visited Monocacy across the Maryland border, York, Lancaster, Warwick and Donegal. In keeping with customary Moravian efficiency, Bader was required to enter the details of each day's events in a diary which was regularly submitted to the authorities at Bethlehem; and happily for modern historical research, these manuscript documents of his pioneer attempts at scientific pedagogical supervision were transmitted to posterity through their inclusion in the "Bethlehem Diary." Before leaving on his first visit, he was properly initiated into the spirit of his unprecedented educational mission and fully instructed in the specific duties thereof, as follows:

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107. *Ibid., Protokoll der Arbeiter Konferenz zu Quittopehille vom 7. September, 1752.*

108. The facts of his life were taken from Bader's biography as it appeared in the "Bethlehem Diary" under date of March 15, 1787, the occasion of his death. The invariable practice on the part of the diarists to write a biographical sketch of a Brother or Sister immediately upon his or her demise for inclusion in the manuscript records was indeed a most fortunate custom for posterity's attempts at historical research.

1. Brother Bader is going with the blessing of the congregation to those places in Pennsylvania which are under our charge and in which we maintain schools:
   Heidelberg
   Quittopehille
   Donegal
   Warwick
   Oley
   Allemaengel
   He shall also preach wherever requested by the local pastor. He shall also conduct the children's services wherever such are held.
2. He shall start in Donegal at the congregation of Br. John Schmidt. From there he shall communicate also with Br. Christian Rauch concerning the order in which he will visit the other places, and shall then keep Chr. Rauch informed at every opportunity just where he is. He shall confer in Lancaster with Bro. George Neisser who is the schoolmaster there for the time being, and they will mutually advise each other. He shall stay at each place as long as is necessary to carry out his instruction, no more or less.
3. His attention shall be directed more at our own Brethren who are serving as teachers in our country schools, but who, for the most part, have come there inexperienced, and are therefore as much in need of guidance and direction as are the pupils themselves.
4. Therefore he shall not meddle in affairs which directly concern the rearing of the children, which matter has been reserved for and will remain the duty of the *Kinder-Eltern* on their visits to the outlying districts.
5. Whenever he arrives at a village, he shall announce himself in a sincere and brotherly manner at the home of the schoolmaster and inquire into the methods employed to date, the teacher's needs, the lessons of the classes, and the proficiency of the children in spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic. And, in turn, the teachers will reveal their needs and wants to him.
6. Furthermore, Br. Bader can personally conduct several sessions with the children in each place and in this way 'explore' them in order to discover what they need, and how and where to help them.
7. Then Br. Bader shall hold a very thorough conference with each teacher about his school matters, and will give each one as much instruction as he needs; but he himself will also profit from whatever good and original ideas he may hear from this or that Brother. He shall give help to those who need it in the rudiments of spelling, and shall introduce to our teachers wherever possible and in an unforced way certain methods of instruction.
8. When he has spoken sufficiently with a teacher in private, then he shall first permit him to teach the class in his presence. Then he will teach it with the teacher present, so that

in the first case Br. Bader can see and hear how things go, and in the latter case the teacher can see the example of good teaching. When Br. Bader has the whole affair running smoothly through such a course of events, he has done his duty at that place, and can proceed to another location.

9. Everywhere he shall recommend a sincere, kindly treatment of the children in the school, shall offer the teachers an easy and unaffected method to keep children attentive and quiet, and shall demonstrate it to them. All of our schools should be flavored with accounts of the love of our Lord and His bloody wounds. For this purpose the singing of beautiful, simple verses and sometimes a happy, unforced discussion may prove very effective.
10. In fundamental principles he shall set no fixed pattern, but will simply help the teachers with their school and teaching problems; but if the matter of basic principles should arise, he will refer this matter to Bethlehem and let us know his suggestions concerning them. Furthermore, he shall keep an accurate diary of all of his school visits, also write regularly to Bethlehem and impart all information.[109]

3. The Introduction of the Jena Method

Donegal was the first stop in the itinerary of Brother Bader's first journey to the Brethren's rural schools, and it was there that he first introduced his special method for the teaching of spelling, writing, reading and arithmetic to Brother John Schmidt, the schoolmaster, on November 22 and 23, 1752. He himself designated it as the "Jena" method. His diary records that occasion and the events leading to it, as follows:

> November 21, [1752]: They had to continue to work on the chimney of the *Gemeinhaus* for most of the week, and therefore we could not find very much time for discussions. Yet I made use of the evenings and tried to instruct him [Johann Schmidt] as much as possible in the matter of spelling, and made quite a bit of progress in this respect.
>
> November 22-23: We continued discussing our school problems and touched upon many essential and basic points. Since there were so very many things to be discussed, I deemed it wise to mention only certain points in which are involved a brief, natural and simple organization and method.* . . .
>
> * This is none other than the well-known Jena method of spelling and of other school subjects (*Jenaische Buchstabier- und Schulmethode*), but with special adaptation and application to the schools of our present country congregations.[110]

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109. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Beilage, 1753.*
110. *Bruder Baders Diarium Seiner Reise und Besuch derer Schulen im Lande vom 16. November, 1752 bis zum 28. Februar, 1753; den 21.-23. November, 1752.*

On November 27th, it was used in the classroom for the first time, being demonstrated for Brother Schmidt by Bader with the seventeen pupils of the Donegal school, and found to be "admirably suited to the children."[111] On the following two days, Brother Schmidt tried the method and "fared very well with it."[112]

Encouraged by his success at Donegal, Bader introduced the Jena method wherever he went. Brother and Sister John Müller, the teachers at North Heidelberg to whom it was explained on December 9th, found it "effective and easy."[113] On December 30th, Bader "conducted school with Brother and Sister Beck" at Quittopehille and "showed them how to use the spelling booklet and how to instruct their children by means of it."[114] Here, too, "it pleased everyone concerned,"[115] and by January 8th, Brother and Sister Beck had mastered the method well."[116] By January 22nd, Bader had reached Warwick where "Br. and Sr. Nixdorf comprehended the method fully and felt well disposed toward it."[117] Brother Michler, to whom it was introduced on February 7th, "fared very well with the method" in applying it to the fifteen children of his Oley School.[118] At Allemaengel, Brother Neubert "liked the method, but considered it somewhat difficult"; however, after Brother Bader assured him that "it was easier in practice than in theory,"[119] he undertook to apply it to his sixteen pupils and delighted his supervisor with the results.[120]

The news of the effectiveness of the Jena method must have spread through all the *Stadt- und Landgemeinen*, and its techniques were copied, apparently, by the teachers of every town and country congregational school. On Bader's third "school visitation" between February 25 and April 20, 1754, he went to Monocacy in Maryland for the first time and found his method being employed there "in a very natural and familiar way" by Brother Utley, who had "a very straight-forward, unforced, but

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111. *Ibid., den 27. November, 1752.*
112. *Ibid., den 28.-29. November, 1752.*
113. *Ibid., den 9. Dezember, 1752.*
114. *Ibid., den 30. Dezember, 1752.*
115. *Ibid., den 2. Januar, 1753.*
116. *Ibid., den 8. Januar, 1753.*
117. *Ibid., den 22. Januar, 1753.*
118. *Ibid., den 12. Februar, 1753.*
119. *bid., den 19. Februar, 1753.*
120. *Ibid., den 22. Februar, 1753.*

effective way with the children in his school.''[121] He also found the school at York running ''according to the method,'' and after making ''a careful examination of the children's proficiency, found them well versed in their lessons and diligent in their studies.''[122] Even Brother Oerter at Lancaster, to whom the method had not appealed at first, must have been converted to it in the interim. Bader expressed his surprise and gratification at this change, as follows:

> . . . And how is the school doing? I must confess that it certainly caused me no end of amazement. It is hard to believe that Br. Oerter now conducts his school entirely in accordance with the method introduced in all country schools, while here-to-fore he was indifferent to it; in fact, I found a school diametrically opposed to and completely different from the one I had known before. Here, just as in Monocacy, I became more fully convinced that the reason for a poor and ineffectual school is not to be sought in the children as much as it is in those who deal with the children. The main issue is the method which is used in the teaching and treatment of the pupils. . .[123]

Those schools in which Bader had initiated his method on his first circuit, such as Warwick and Donegal, were still functioning prosperously on it.[124]

4. An Inquiry into the Origin and Interpretation of the Jena Method

It is regrettable that Brother Bader did not elaborate his brief references to the *Jenaische Buchstabier- und Schulmethode.* All that can be gleaned from his manuscript diary is that the method was ''in agreement with those employed earlier by the late Brother Gottschalk,[125] although no longer practiced in most of the schools,''[126] that it was ''effective, easy, straight-forward and

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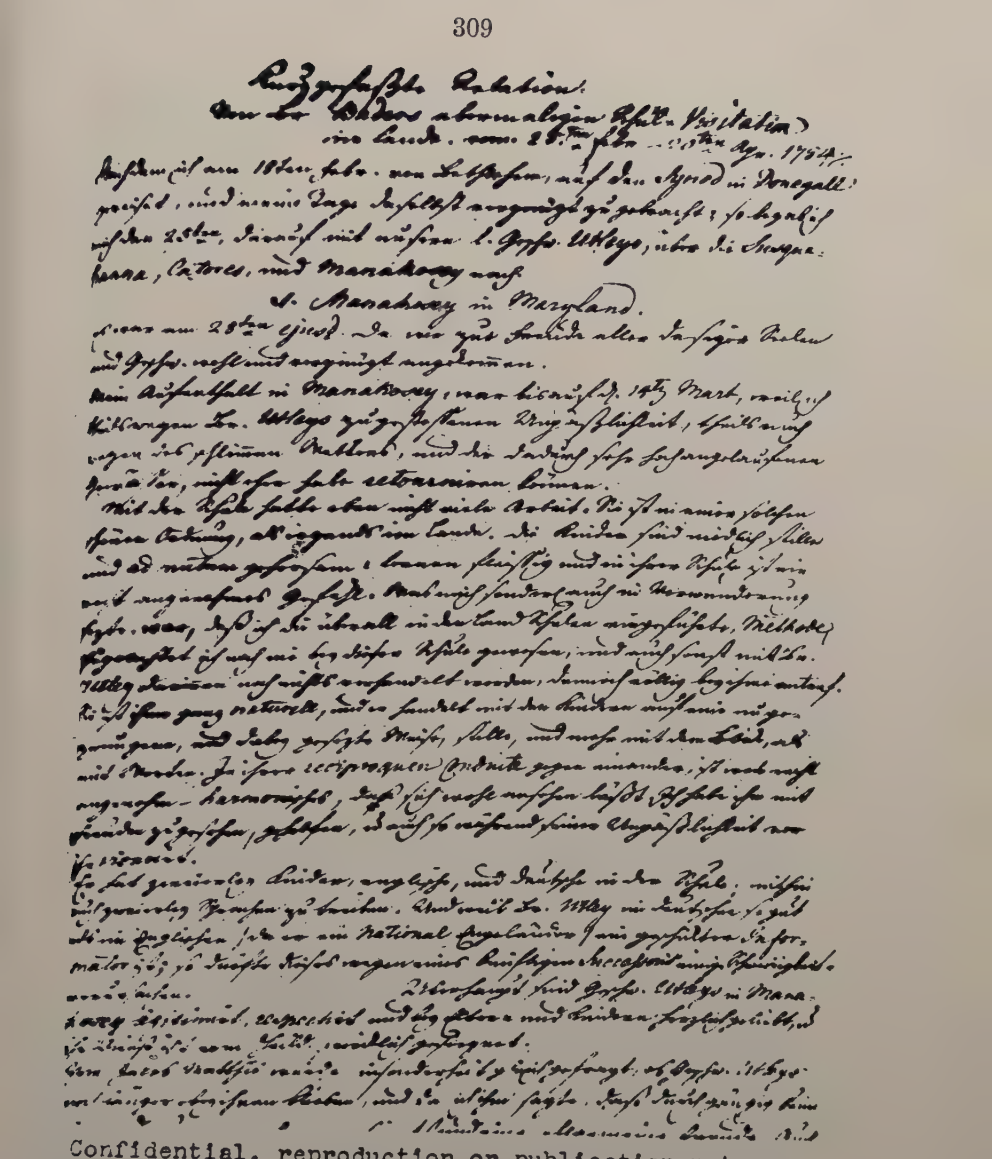
121. *Kurzgefasste Relation von Bruder Baders abermaligen Schul-Visitation im Lande vom 25. Februar zum 20. April, 1754; Monocacy in Maryland, vom 28. Februar bis zum 14. März, 1754.*
122. *Ibid., Yorktown, vom 15. bis zum 22. März, 1754.*
123. *Ibid., Lancaster, vom 23. bis zum 30. März, 1754.*
124. *Ibid., vom 1. bis zum 10. April, 1754.*
125. Matthew Gottlieb Gottschalk came to Bethlehem in January of 1747. Until his death in August of 1748, he labored as an itinerant preacher in Neshaminy, Skippack, Goshenhoppen, Oley, Coventry and Alsace townships in eastern Pennsylvania, and also in Maryland and northwestern Virginia. No mention is made in the records, to the writer's knowledge, of the method he was supposed to have introduced in the schools.
126. *Bruder Baders Diarium Seiner Reise und Besuch derer Schulen im Lande zum 16. November, 1752 bis zum 28. Februar, 1753; den 24. November, 1752.*



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(From the Bethlehem Diary in the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem)

Brief Account of Brother Bader's Repeated School-Visit to the Country Congregations from February 25 to April 20, 1754

practical,"[127] that "children responded to it readily,"[128] that it was "easier in practice than in theory,"[129] and that it employed a spelling-book in its application.[130] A meticulous search into the pedagogical writings of Ratke, Comenius and Francke, all of whom bore an intimate relationship to Moravianism, proved fruitless on this baffling question. The manuscripts of Zinzendorf and of his educational co-workers, such as Spangenberg, Layritz, Boehler, Hehl, Rauch and Neisser, make no reference to it. Such authorities as Karl Kehr, author of *Geschichte der Methodik*, and Wilhelm Rein, editor of *Encyklopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik*, remain provokingly mute on the issue. Nor can the University of Jena shed any light on this method which bears its name.[131] It remains, accordingly, for the writer to theorize upon the origin and meaning of the method by which Brother Bader improved the spirit and instruction in the Brethren's rural schools.[132]

It seems probable that the *Jenaische Buchstabier- und Schulmethode* harks back to the *Tugend-Schule* established in Jena by Erhard Weigel[133] in 1684 in his reformatory attempt "to bring

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127. *Ibid.*
128. *Ibid., den 27. November, 1752.*
129. *Ibid., den 19. Februar, 1753.*
130. *Ibid., den 30. Dezember, 1752.*
131. Through correspondence with the University authorities at Jena, the writer was informed: "Eine Jenaische Buchstabier- und Schulmethode aus dem 17. oder 18. Jahrhundert ist hier unbekannt."
132. The writer acknowledges appreciatively the invaluable help of Dr. Theodore Dietrich of the University of Jena, through active correspondence, in the formulation of the theory herewith presented.
133. Erhard(us) Weigel(ius) was born in Weiden, Bavaria, on December 16, 1625. He taught mathematics from 1648 to 1697 at the Universities of Leipzig and Jena, both of which were then Saxon, and was one of the most celebrated scholars of this branch of learning in his time. Among his pupils were Leibniz and Pufendorf. He received approval and even support from the German states to set up an educational experiment. This was done (1684-87) in his home with a small number of children, and because their first school was successful he received the means to carry on a broader experiment for which part of his house had to be opened on November 10, 1689. The spacious "house of joy" (because *ludus* means "play") had an entrance hall of more than 240 square feet, a theatre of 1000 square feet, and a classroom of 560 square feet. It was also due to his efforts that in 1699 the Gregorian calendar was introduced into Germany. He died on March 23rd of the same year. (Israel, August, "Erhard Weigel," in *Encyklopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik*, X, 137-147.)

to youth not only verbal knowledge, but also scientific and ethical knowledge.''[134] He devised special methods to implement his basic philosophy that 1) not only should the mind be developed, but, above all, the will disciplined to virtue; 2) the fundamental branches of learning, especially mathematics, should be restored to their former and rightful place in the curriculum; and 3) the basic elements of Latin should not be learned through rules, but rather through practice and enjoyable play. Schools, he maintained, must be centers of *doing*, not just of *talking*, the latter being only a tool for learning. Because God does not want people to be superficial, but *doers*, Weigel's school aimed to do everything ''in an accountable manner so that in the end its pupils will be able to give a good account of their earthly doings.''[135]

By applying the principle of *Lautieren*, or phonetics, to the process of spelling, Weigel evolved the following method as early as 1685:

> . . . The teacher writes one or more of his Bible verses or Latin sentences on the blackboard or has them printed on paper in as large a form as possible, and has as many copies made as there are children.
>
> He then spells them out to the children and lets the latter point out the letters constantly with their little pointers. After this has been done for a while, they sit down and spell out loud, repeating what they hear.[136]

Frequently the method was rendered even pleasanter by having the children, in unison, sing aloud the syllables of their spelling words in melodic and rhythmic cadences, according to the prescriptions of musical notes written on the blackboard by the teacher.[137]

Believing that the original ''play'' concept of *ludus*, or school, bespoke an easy, reasonable, pleasurable and uncoerced way of doing things, Weigel attempted to simplify the elements also of reading, writing and arithmetic. In accordance with his *Lese-Regel*, all the children in one class, even if there were a hundred of them, recited the text in unison, with the inevitable, happy outcome of being able to read, and liking to, in the course of a few weeks.[138] This method was, moreover, in accord with the doc-

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134. Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, *Philosophischen Schriften*, II, 473.
135. Rein, Wilhelm, *ed.*, *Encyklopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik*, X, 141.
136. Israel, August, *Die Pädagogischen Bestrebungen Erhard Weigels*, 30.
137. Rein, Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 140.
138. Israel, August, *op. cit.*, 39.

trines of Comenius. Weigel maintained furthermore that "words, phrases, sentences and discourses, in more than one language, could be taught entirely through the pleasure medium of play."[139] Writing he taught by means of his mechanical *Schreibregel,* a stick extending from the ceiling and movable in a socket, the lower end of which stick was fastened to the middle of a long horizontal bar. At this bar

> . . . sat three or four pupils to the left, and as many to the right, of the teacher who sat at the middle point of the bar. Writing pens were attached to the bar which the pupils took hold of in proper fashion and pressed down on paper fastened to the table under the bar. As soon as the teacher (sitting at the middle of the bar) began to write, the pens of the children moved in parallel lines with his, and the pupils had only to be willing to follow the movement of their pens.[140]

It was even more important that Weigel was the first to express the concept of arithmetic "not as mere numbers, but a monument of numbers"[141] and that he put an end to the boring practice of prolonged mathematical drill by translating abstract numerical concepts into clever number pictures.

Whether these Weigelian practices were carried out by Bader cannot be conclusively determined. It is very unlikely that Weigel's complicated mechanical aids could have found their way into the schools of the Brethren's *Landgemeinen* of primitive Pennsylvania. His technical *Schreibregel* would have seemed incongruous, indeed, in the unpretentious Moravian *Gemeinhaus* of the eighteenth century. However, the simple procedures by which he taught spelling seem sufficiently "easy, straight-forward and practical" to have been the source from which Bader extracted his *Buchstabiermethode.* Similarly, it is possible, perhaps even probable, that the latter's *Schulmethode* was identical with the simpler elements, at least, of Weigel's *Schreib- Lese- und Rechnenmethoden.* Furthermore, it has been shown that there was an intimate connection between the University of Jena and the Brethren at Herrnhut. Through the migration of the latter to America, it is quite possible that the Jena-inspired Weigelian principles and practices found their way to Pennsylvania as the *Jenaische Buchstabier- und Schulmethode.* This deduction becomes even more significant as evidence when one recalls that

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139. *Ibid.*
140. Rein, Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*
141. *Ibid.*

Brother Bader himself was one of the emigrants from Herrnhut who had previously stood in close affiliation with Jena.

B. Other Modes of Instruction

It is comprehensible that educators whose lives were so completely dedicated to the cause of religion and whose pedagogical principles were so thoroughly steeped in spiritual values as were those of the Brethren, should be partial to the basically religious method of the catechism. This favored question-and-answer practice was applied to secular as well as to spiritual instruction, and ran its full course from the simple *Was bist Du?* or *Was ist das?* of the nursery school to the scholarly investigation of ecclesiastical problems in the theological seminary. It was this adaptability to all levels of mental development that recommended it to the logical-minded Moravians to whom gradation of subject-matter was important. The use which it made of the favorite Moravian technique of memorization was a further reason for its common application. Besides, it was ideally suited to oral instruction which the scarcity of textbooks had popularized, and was uniquely adapted to music, the delight of every Moravian child.[142]

A variation of the catechetical method was the recitation lesson, a description of which was included among the reminiscences of a former pupil of the Young Ladies' Seminary:

> . . . Monday morning we took our seats at our table, and looked over our lessons. When the clock in our room showed it was near recitation hour, we put our books away in the 'next room' on our shelf, and waited in our seats until the clock commenced striking; then the door opened and everyone ran to her recitation room, seated herself, and recitation began. The first girl arose and repeated every word of a short lesson. If she blundered, the teacher said 'next.' In this way she went through the class. Those who did not know their lessons at all were sent to the inspector; those who showed that they had tried to learn their lessons were allowed to go with the rest. When the clock struck the next hour, all ran to their next recitation rooms and recited in the same manner.[143]

The lecture method was employed almost exclusively in the instruction of the older seminary and academy pupils. In the space of an hour, the teacher read his lecture and summarized in outline form the significant facts which were copied by the class, learned, and recited at the beginning of the next lecture.[144] It

142. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 7. September, 1752.*
143. Recollections of Mrs. Harriet Gould Drake Tinkam, Student, 1817
144. Henry, James, *Sketches of Moravian Life*, 188.

was not only within the lecturer's plan to awaken interest in the destiny of empires or in the character of their heroes, but the very practice of writing down the outline and learning thoroughly all that it embraced brought this method in harmony with the Brethren's innate respect for correctness and punctiliousness.

It is not very probable that the Lancastrian system of pedagogy found its way into the Moravian schools in its purest form. John Beck's investigation into that English method with possible intention of applying it to his Academy at Lititz was reduced to utter futility by the following disappointing experience:

> . . . In the year 1820, the celebrated teacher, Joseph Lancaster, came to this country from England, in order to introduce his method, whereby he professed to instruct seven hundred children in a body, in all the various branches, to perfection. My desire to see him and his school was great, for I expected to derive much benefit from it. Accordingly I undertook a Journey (in 1821) to Baltimore, where he was teaching at that time, to pay him a visit. I arrived there in the evening and could scarcely wait until morning, so great was my anxiety to see him and his school operations. Hastening to the school as early as I thought proper, I encountered him at the door; I grasped his hand most cordially, and introduced myself as a teacher, stating to him the object of my errand. His reply was, 'I am very sorry for thee, I am not in the habit of admitting teachers into my school.' Whereupon I endeavored to reason with him, telling him that I had heard and read much about him, had traveled one hundred miles to see him and his school, and that probably he might make an exception in my case, yet all to no purpose, for he reiterated once more, 'I am sorry for thee,' and then turned his back upon me, and left the room.[145]

The generous allotment of teachers in all Moravian schools was definitely alien to the Lancastrian principle of "instructing seven hundred in a body." The pupil-teacher ratio at Nazareth Hall in 1785 was ninety to nine;[146] in the Bethlehem Female Seminary in 1787, seventeen to four;[147] and in the girls' school at Lititz in 1803, thirty-one to four.[148] Zinzendorf had planned to employ one teacher for every twelve children in his proposed boarding school in Germantown. Individual instruction was never denied any pupil in need of special help.[149]

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145. Beck, John, *Valedictory Letter*, 14.
146. Adams, Oscar F., *Some Famous American Schools*, 14.
147. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *A History of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem, Pa.*, 46.
148. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Memorabilia, 1803.*
149. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 29. Oktober, 1788.*

Moravian education, from the very beginning, had functioned on the practice, later endorsed by Joseph Lancaster, of relying upon student example and imitation for the conveyance of knowledge and for the maintenance of discipline. The rôle of the "room-company leaders" in the government of the seminaries and academies has already been described.[150] At the tender age of six years, little Polly Price was appointed *Kinder-Ältestin,* or eldress of the nursery children, the latter's misconduct on one occasion causing her "to grieve, to weep, and to pray."[151] That such leadership was even spontaneously assumed is shown by the following diary entry:

> Two children were not very diligent in their work today and began to annoy each other. Thereupon a couple of others turned to them, and said, 'If you were diligent, you would not quarrel this way; instead you would think of the Lamb and gladly work for Him, for, as a child, He was diligent.' They returned to their work at once, and were diligent and quiet.[152]

C. Public Examinations

Das öffentliche Examen was a regular semi-annual occurrence in the country congregational schools as well as in the *Anstalten* of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz. Held in May and November, these formal occasions were the "closing exercises" of the school term before a short vacation, and were the forerunner of school commencements. Their intent was spiritual, educational and social, and the three parts of their program were arranged in that order.

During the first forty years of Moravian education in Pennsylvania, the examinations were fairly simple affairs. On the appointed day, the children were assembled in the *Gemeinsaal,* the church auditorium, where they were usually addressed by the principal of the school, the congregational pastor,[153] a bishop, or a member of the Provincial Elders' Conference.[154] Bishop Spangenberg opened the public examination of November, 1756, telling the boys and girls how important they were because they were "the property of the Saviour and members of His fold"; how it was therefore the school's responsibility to see to it that they

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150. *Supra,* 259.

151. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 15. März, 1746.*

152. *Ibid., Kinder-Diarium, den 22. Januar, 1755.*

153. The pastor of the congregation was frequently also the principal of the school.

154. *Infra,* 350.

"bring only joy and honor to Him and to the Church"; how it was their "sacred duty to learn everything that was essential for His service and that of His congregation"; and how "he and other Brethren had come to hear proof of their learning."[155] Then followed the oral examination in every subject, administered by the teachers or principal, first to the boys and then to the girls. The entire curricular range was covered from the very elementary rules of spelling to the more advanced branches of mathematics and science, and every pupil was questioned in all of his subjects.[156] The parents and friends of the pupils and the officials of the Church were invited to witness these performances, and were usually present in large numbers. A lovefeast for the children and guests always concluded the day and added a festive note to the program. Samples of the pupil's penmanship, drawing, spinning, knitting and needlework were displayed, and musical selections, both vocal and instrumental, were rendered during this final part of the day's program.[157]

The public examination became more prominent with the advent of the academies and seminaries. Its spiritual and social aspects, even more than its educational interest, fitted into and contributed to the way of life of those boarding schools. The first of these semi-annual occasions in the Bethlehem Female Seminary, held in May of 1789, was already a two-day affair. The following account gives the agenda of the first day:

> At nine o'clock our examination began. In the first session was English reading and grammar, at which were present the following spectators, namely: Mr. and Mrs. Grube, Sister Lewis, Sister Marshall, Sister Esther, Sister Schultz, Sister Oerter, Mr. & Mrs. Schweinitz, Mrs. Huebner and our Tutoresses. This lasted one hour. At ten o'clock we were examined in Arithmetic, then we returned to our apartments. We dined, and at one o'clock went again into the hall, and found the same spectators as before. In this hour Mr. Huebner examined us in German reading, geography and history. We then left the hall and employed the remainder of the day in whatever we found most necessary.[158]

On the afternoon of the second day, "the audience gave the scholars a lovefeast, where their English and German writing-books and their drawing-books were shown. Mr. Huebner read the regu-

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155. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Kinder-Diarium, den 1. November, 1756.*

156. *Ibid.*

157. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 1. November, 1756.*

158. Journal of the Young Ladies' Seminary, May 15, 1789.

lations of the school, and the whole ended with a dialogue."[159] The public examination grew in proportion to the expanding size and scope of the seminaries and academies, and by 1791 it was a five-day event arranged as follows:

> April 5: In the morning at nine o'clock, we all assembled in the hall. After a short and feeling discourse by our dear Inspector, and in the presence of a worthy audience of Brethren and Sisters, the first class was examined in reading, and then we spoke a dialogue from the *Catechism of Nature*. The second class then read in the Bible and spoke on 'Air, Wind, Rain and Earth.' The third class read in the Bible and conversed on 'Land and Water.' The fourth class read in the new Testament and spoke on 'Animals.' The fifth and sixth classes partly read and partly recited Bible texts and verses. In the afternoon we were examined in German.
>
> April 6: This morning we were examined in Grammar. The fourth class was examined in the first principles of Grammar, namely, Orthography, Prosody, Etymology, and Syntax. The Misses Huntington and Neilson recited pieces. The third classes examined in the parts of speech, the Article, Noun, and Adjective, and also in Gender, Number, and Case, and the Comparison of Adjectives. In the second session, the second class was examined in Verbs, and the first class in Punctuation.
>
> In the afternoon at two o'clock, we assembled again and were examined in Arithmetic, The first class had Profit and Loss, Interest, and the Rule of Three in Fractions. The second class had the Rule of Three inverse, and the double Rule of Three in two statements. The third class had the single Rule of Three direct and Reduction of Fractions.
>
> April 7: In the morning, the four classes were examined in History. The fourth class was examined in the first period, from Adam to Noah, the third class in the second period, from Noah to Moses, the second class in the third and fourth periods, from Moses to Cyrus, and the first class in the fifth and sixth periods, from Cyrus to Christ.
>
> In the second session the third class spoke the piece they had been taught. They were followed by the second and first classes. In the afternoon the fourth, fifth and sixth classes were examined in Arithmetic, the youngest speaking the Multiplication Table.
>
> April 8: This morning the first Geography class was examined in the divisions of Europe; the second class in America, its discovery, its chief rivers and towns; the third class had the real divisions of the Earth; and the fourth, the principal circles of the Globe. At half past ten we assembled again, to be asked some questions in the first rudiments of Astronomy. The first

159. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1789.

class had the fixed stars, and the second the planets. In the afternoon, at one o'clock, we were examined in French. The first class read some of the La Fontaine's *Fables* and spoke a dialogue. At three o'clock we were examined in Music.

April 9: In the afternoon at two o'clock, we assembled in the hall to conclude our examination by a Love feast, during which were shown to the Company specimens of our writing, drawing, painting, embroidery, and tambour, and of our young misses' knitting and samplers. Some of the misses played pieces and sang to them, after which Miss Hickley expressed our thanks in German to the audience.[160]

The simple and unrehearsed catechetical procedure employed in the earlier examinations gave way to formal, thoroughly memorized recitations in all subjects, frequently in dialogue form.[161] Unfortunately, the undue emphasis on a prearranged program reduced the former spontaneity of these occasions to artificiality, and they came to resemble stereotyped concerts. John Beck was sensitive to this regrettable trend and, by 1838, had become convinced that "however agreeable such occasions might prove to be to an audience, yet the preparation and excitement attendant thereon proved a positive loss to the pupils," and that "the valuable time thereby lost, could be more profitably spent in the ordinary educational routine; and, besides this, they entailed an unnecessary expense upon the parents.[162] In a marginal note in John Beck's *Valedictory Letter*, his son Abraham wrote: "Besides this, he (John Beck) told Dr. Ziegler of Mt. Joy that some fine, bright boys were so constituted that they could make no show at all, in public examinations, and quoted Nathan Blickensderfer as such a one."[163] Much of the same sentiment was implied by a student of the Bethlehem Female Seminary in her "salutatory piece" at one of the public examinations:

Guardians and Friends, I rise tho' young
in years
And small in stature, conquering all my fears;
I address you first as I am bid to do,
And claim indulgent sentiments from you
For me, for my young friends assembled
round
Should our endeavors be imperfect found!

160. *Ibid.*, April 5-9, 1791.
161. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Dezember, 1806.*
162. Beck, John, *op. cit.*, 16.
163. *Ibid.*

PROGRAMME

OF THE

MUSIC AT THE CLOSE OF THE EXAMINATION.

NAZARETH HALL, JUNE 7, 1839.

I. SESSION.

The Lord's Prayer, a Chorus by *C. Kingsley*;—followed by an Examination and Recitations.

II. SESSION.

Cantique. . . . . Rossini.

After an Examination and Recitations

Prayer from "Moses in Egypt." . . . . Rossini.

III. SESSION.

CONCERT

GIVEN BY THE PUPILS.

1. Overture, full Orchestra; a *Quodlibet*—in which are introduced several airs and waltzes by Strauss, Bellini, Von Weber, &c. &c. The Violin and Flute parts by the Pupils.
2. Quartett,—"Five times by the taper's light." . . . . Stephen Storace.
3. Overture to the "Freischuetz" for 4 Performers on two Piano Fortes. . . . . Von Weber.
4. Phantom Chorus, from "La Sonnambula." . . . . Bellini.
5. A variety of performances on the Piano Forte.
6. Gipsy Chorus from "Amilie." . . . . Rooke.
7. Music on the Piano Forte.
8. To the mountain away—Grand Chorus from "Amilie." . . . . Rooke.

Nazareth, Pa:—Printed by A. H. Senseman.

(Courtesy of Moravian Historical Society)

When first announced this day fill'd us
with joy,
Its distant aspect bid each dread alloy:
But now we see th' expected hour arrive
Behold us to its dangers all alive;
Oh! how we tremble with misgiving fear
Lest in undeserving praise we may appear!

Your kind forbearance only can inspire,
That confidence our conscious minds
require,
Though no great things we wish to see
display'd,

The various progress by our needles made;
Then you may hear how we've improv'd
in speech,
And what our dead or living authors teach;
See what of this globe's fabric we have
learn'd;
What harvest from the historic pages
earn'd;
And if our Grammar studies you approve,
Or music's dulcet sounds your favor
move,
So may our joint endeavors meet success
Draw forth your smiles and crown our
happiness.
To obtain your praise, and hear you say
'Tis well'
We will aspire, though all may not
excel.[164]

In Bethlehem first,[165] and in other Moravian settlements later,[166] the system was adopted whereby private examinations in all branches of learning were administered, followed by brief closing exercises to which the pupils' parents and friends were invited and by which the school year was festively terminated with "music, recitations, and an exhibition of artistic handwork."[167]

D. Christian Nurture in the Home

1. The Parents' Rôle in Education

The Brotherly Agreement, which was formulated in 1727 by those Brethren who established the Renewed Moravian Church at Herrnhut and in which were embodied the essential principles of the ancient *Unitas Fratrum,* leaves no doubt that the chief interest of the Church has always centered in Christian living and that responsibility of parents for the religious training of their children is considered fundamental:

> We recognize our children to be the property of our Lord Jesus Christ, purchased with His precious blood in order that they might be brought up in His nurture and admonition. Hence, it is expected of parents to pray for their children, to train them in the commandments and love of our Saviour, guard them against what might prove hurtful to their souls, gather them in

164. *MS.* poem by Emma Baker who entered the Young Ladies' Seminary in 1826.
165. Protocoll of the Seminary, October 27, 1828.
166. In Lititz, on May 27, 1824.
167. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 29. Juli, 1831.*

> family devotions, and set them a consistent Christian example. We further regard it the duty of parents that they cause their children punctually to attend school, religious instructions, and the church services.[108]

In the total plan of early Moravian education, the place of the Christian home was central. It is true that during the first two decades of Moravianism in Pennsylvania the parents, who were of necessity preoccupied with the establishment of the *Ortsgemeinen* under the plan of the General Economy, leaned heavily upon the choirs and the schools in the rearing of their children, but this deviation from the ideal of the Christian home was only a temporary concession to expediency during the difficult formative years of those settlements. Even then, "the Parents, being deeply penerated with the Consequence of getting an education for their children, prefer[red] the thoughts concerning it to all others, not exceeding those necessary for maintaining their very Economy, and manage[d] all Offices and Performances belonging to this Duty with the best of their Faculties and Capacity."[169]

That parents and prospective parents needed instruction for the effective training of their children was recognized by the Moravian Church in all its departments. The various synods made parental education the constant concern of their meetings.[170] The subject of *Kindererziehung* was a favorite for the Sunday sermons of the ministers of the various *Stadt- und Landgemeinen*,[171] as well as for their regular week-day *Unterredungen*, or discussions, with parents.[172] Frequent meetings of the married Brethren's Choir were held "to instruct and encourage its members, privately and collectively, in the Christian nurture of their children."[173] Discussion groups were formed within the *Ehechor* whereby the brethren and sisters could share with other parents the methods of child-training which they had tested and found to be effective, and warn them of less desirable practices which their

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168. *The Brotherly Agreement, Section 7.*

169. *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia, Report from the Committee to Whom the Petition of the Deputies of the United Moravian Churches, in Behalf of Themselves and Their United Brethren, Was Referred, Article III*, 101.

170. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 2. Juni, 1766.*

171. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 1. Oktober, 1769.*

172. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 8. Dezember, 1779.*

173. *Ibid., Die Hauptpunkte aus dem Protocoll der Conferenz welche in Bethlehem bei der Visitation unseres lieben Bruder Johannes (de Watteville) mit den Arbeitern der Stadt- und Landgemeinen gehalten worden, den. 11.-14. Juni, 1786.*

own experience had proven ineffective.[174] Parent-teachers' conferences were often called to discuss problems of child behavior and to coordinate the efforts of the home and school in the solution thereof.[175] Several of the bishops of the Church had written discourses for the benefit of parents in the rearing of their offspring, notable among which were Zinzendorf's compilation, *Ehechor-Reden,* and the *Brief Essay on Christian Nurture* contained in his *Sonderbare Gespräche.*[176] Doubtlessly, the most powerful instrument in the education of parents was the itinerant *Kinder-Eltern,* a detailed discussion of whose functions follows under that heading in the next section of this chapter.

The early manuscript records in the Moravian Archives are replete with professional advice given to parents by the several agencies named above. "Pray diligently for your children, deal with them in loving kindness, and deserve their faith in you by your own worthy conduct" was John de Watteville's exhortation to the parents and teachers of all the Brethren's town and country congregations.[177] The Synod of June 1766 warned that "the efforts of the teachers on behalf of their pupils are rendered futile if the latter do not constantly perceive in their parents a Christ-dedicated heart and a priestly mode of living"; urged all fathers and mothers "to repent of such thoughts and actions which could be imitated by their children to their eternal detriment and, by the grace of God, to replace them with such that are worthy of youthful emulation"; and predicted the immediate decline and eventual demise of Moravianism in rural Pennsylvania "if parents placed the acquisition of earthly wealth above the salvation of their souls and that of their children."[178] Adults were cautioned to be temperate and proper in the manner and content of their speech, especially in the presence of impressionable youth.[179] To see that their children attended school regularly;[180] to inform

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174. *Ibid.*

175. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 10. April, 1771.*

176. *Sonderbare Gespräche . . . Zwischen einen Reisenden und allerhand andern Personen, von allerlei in der Religion vorkommenden Wahrheiten.* Barby, 1796.

177. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Die Hauptpunkte aus dem Protocoll der Conferenz welche in Bethlehem bei der Visitation unseres lieben Bruder Johannes (de Watteville) mit den Arbeitern der Stadt- und Landgemeinen gehalten worden, den 11.-14. Juni, 1786.*

178. *Ibid., den 2. Juni, 1766.*

179. *Ibid., den 8. Dezember, 1779.*

180. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 1. Oktober, 1769.*

themselves of their sons' and daughters' progress in school;[181] to exercise meticulous care over their physical, mental and spiritual development;[182] to require them to read aloud daily in the home a portion of the Holy Scriptures, preferably from the New Testament;[183] and to cause morning and evening devotions to be conducted at the family altar and grace to be sung at the beginning and end of each meal[184] were definitely the moral obligations of eighteenth-century Moravian parenthood. For the successful fulfillment of this weighty responsibility "the wisdom of the Lord and the grace of God" were unceasingly and prayerfully invoked.[185]

2. *Die Kinder-Eltern*

To supplement the religious nurture furnished in the school, in the home and by the Choir system, *Kinder-Eltern*, or *Kinder-Väter,* were provided by the Church to serve as special spiritual counselors to the parents and children of the numerous *Stadt- und Landgemeinen*. The general pattern of their work was outlined by the Synod of Marienborn, in 1744, as follows:

> . . . Their prime duty shall be to assist the parents in the training of their children. They shall consider night and day how all the children may best be led, without affectation or compulsion, into the experience of grace which the Saviour brings to pass in the hearts of human beings. They are not to concern themselves with the temporal needs of the children and are not to meddle in family affairs, except that they are to act as the perpetual confidential counselors of the parents and the constant companions and confidantes of the children.[186]

The Provincial Helpers' Conference appointed to this important itinerant position only those brethren and sisters whose spiritual and emotional nature and previous teaching and preaching experience rendered them particularly suitable to a mission of spiritual guidance.[187] Most notable among them were Matthew

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181. *Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf., den 13. März, 1792.*

182. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 5. Dezember, 1781.*

183. *Ibid., Die Hauptpunkte aus dem Protocoll der Conferenz welche in Bethlehem bei der Visitation unseres lieben Bruder Johannes (de Watteville) mit den Arbeitern der Stadt- und Landgemeinen gehalten worden, den 11.-14. Juni, 1786.*

184. *Ibid.*

185. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz. Memorabilia des Ehechors, 1782*

186. *Synodalverlass, Marienborn, den 14. Juni, 1744.*

187. Item 16 of Spangenberg's comprehensive scheme for the organization of "The Patriarchal Plan, 1744," from the *Pennsylvania Archives, 1756-1760*, Vol. III, pp. 69-76.

Hehl,[188] John Ettwein, [189] Franz Boehler,[190] David Nitschmann,[191] Gottfried Rösler,[192] Jacob Till,[193] John Michael Graf,[194] Nathaniel Seidel,[195] and their wives. Each *Kinderbesuch,* or visit to the children, extended over a period of several months, the itinerary of which was expediently arranged by the authorities of Bethlehem, usually at meetings of Synod.[196] No less than two or three such visits were planned annually for every *Landgemeine.*[197] The traveling and living expenses of the *Kinder-Eltern* were borne generally by the several congregations to which they were sent.[198] After each journey the weary couples would return to Bethlehem for a short recess of physical and mental relaxation.[199] The significance of the work of the *Kinder-Eltern* was the subject of prolonged and thorough consideration by the Synod of 1748.[200]

As "vice-parents to the spiritually neglected and undisciplined children in the far-flung rural areas of Pennsylvania,"[201] and simultaneously as the friendly overseers of the well-trained offspring of consecrated parents, the *Kinder-Eltern* visited both parents and children to win their hearts to virtue or to give them a deeper impression of the loveliness of their Creator;[202] con-

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188. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Beilage zum Monat April, 1755. Kurzer Nachricht von Hehls Visitation der Landgemeinen mit Gesellschaft Geschwister Ettweins zum Besuch der Kinder.*

189. *Ibid., Ettweins Kinder-Besuch im Lande, vom 15. Mai bis zum 4. Juni, 1755; Juni und Juli, 1756.*

190. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, Juni, 1760:* "Toward evening, Br. and Sr. Franz Boehler returned to Lebanon after their visit of eleven weeks among the children in the country congregations, and after a short stay in Bethlehem."

191. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethdehem, den 17. März, 1766.*

192. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, Geschwister Röslers Kinder-Besuch vom 23. Juni bis zum 18. August, 1763.*

193. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Eine kurze Nachricht vom dem Besuch des Br. Jacob Tills unter den Kindern unserer Geschwister und Freunde im Lande vom 17. Februar bis zum 20. April, 1754, und vom 3. Juli bis zum 26. August, 1755.*

194. *Ibid., Diarium von Geschwister Grafs Kinderbesuch im Lande, April, 1756.*

195. *Ibid., den 17. März, 1766.*

196. *Ibid., den 26. April 1764.*

197. *Ibid.*

198. Meyer, Henry H., *op. cit.,* 175.

199. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, Juni, 1760.*

200. *Pennsylvanischer Synoden-Verlass, Bethlehem, den 13. Februar bis zum 16. Juni, 1748.*

201. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 12. April, 1780.*

202. Cranz, David, *op. cit.,* 417.

ducted religious meetings in the *Gemeinhaus* of each country congregation; held private *Sprechen*, or confessional interviews, with parents and children; and instructed the local pastors and teachers in the best methods "of rearing youthful hearts in reverence and admonition of the Lord and bringing them to a saving knowledge of their Redeemer."[203] The following account of Matthew Hehl's and Brother and Sister John Ettwein's *Kinder-Besuch* at Warwick is cited as a typical sample of the usual activities of such spiritual missions:

> April 11, [1755]: *En route* we visited our aged Br. Riehm on the Cocalico. Five miles from Warwick we met Br. Krogstrupp, in whose company we arrived at the Warwick schoolhouse by noon to the great joy of Br. and Sr. Zahm. After partaking of rest and food, and outlining a time-budget of Br. Hehl's stay at Warwick, we visited the homes of the Heils, the Plattenbergers and the Rixeckers.
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> April 12: After the communicant adults and over forty of their children had gathered in the schoolhouse, Br. Matthew [Hehl] conducted a service for them, read Br. Joseph's [Spangenberg's] letter of greeting to them, announced Sr. Anna Rosel's invitation to the Single Sisters for their Choir festival at Bethlehem, and then preached on the Text of the day. Meanwhile, Br. and Sr. Ettwein met with the children in the garden adjoining the schoolhouse and together they had a good time singing and discoursing until their parents came out of the hall. Then Matthew and Br. and Sr. Zahm interviewed the parents, couple by couple. As soon as one set went for the interview, Br. and Sr. Ettwein took their children into the hall and talked with them privately. After the parents' interview was over, their children were taken to them, and a third session with a verse sung for them by Br. Matthew [Hehl]. These procedures lasted until about four o'clock, just when Br. and Sr. Nixdorf arrived from Lancaster to inquire about the date of our arrival there.[204]

E. Discipline

Life for the pupils in the early Moravian schools appears to have been thoroughly satisfying, and for the teachers deeply gratifying. Certain general and specific factors were responsible for the promotion and maintenance of the pleasant and orderly educational environment which only a complete unity of spirit could generate and which unseemly human behavior seldom

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203. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 26. April, 1764. Protocoll der Synode.*

204. *Ibid., Beilage, April, 1755, Kurze Nachricht von Hehls Visitation der Landgemeinen in Gesellschaft mit Geschw. Ettweins zu Besuch der Kinder.*

marred. The Brethren's theory of discipline was simply and broadly evangelical. The "beauty and holiness of the Lord" was the sole pattern which they recommended for human conduct,[205] and His chastening and admonition provided the only rightful disciplinary stimulus.

The single compulsion which the Brethren favored in education normally was that which was exerted by the teacher's example.[206] The latter's verbal appeal to the child's conscience by merely urging him to obey the inner light was considered ineffective without a positive example worthy of emulation, nobly set by his preceptor.[207] Teachers were reminded on every opportune occasion that they were appointed to their all-important position by the call of God and by the community, and that such consecration demanded that "their every word and deed be dedicated unto the Lord."[208] The teacher's position in the government of the school was *in loco parentis*. His relation to the pupils in his class was also that of the pastor's to the members of his congregation; in fact, the two offices were often vested in one person. This dual accountability induced his prayerful interest in each child, not merely the perfunctory discharge of a formal task. In his treatment of children, every "teaching warrior of Jesus Christ" was admonished to be

> . . . not childish but childlike, not indulgent but loving and hearty, not indifferent but alert, not frivolous but friendly and cheerful, not sentimental but loving and cordial, not arbitrary and threatening but sympathetic and firm, not jesting and sarcastic but truthful and serious, not bribing but honorable.[209]

To develop and maintain such a Christ-inspired balance of mind and spirit, the Lord "in His infinite mercy, gave him divine grace and power."[210]

Moravian discipline was positive. Its purpose in the school's organization and administration was analogous to "a fence

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205. *Ibid., Kinder-Diarium, den 12. April, 1756.*
206. Meyer, Henry H., *op. cit.*, 103.
207. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 10. März, 1746.*
208. *Ibid., Beilage, Juni, 1786. Conferenz der Arbeiter der Stadt- und Landgemeinen.* Teachers' meetings held as frequently as twice a week and never less than once a month were invariably opened "with prayer and bowed heads," and concluded with the ceremony of the Cup of Covenant by which they were spiritually strengthened in their "guardian angel service." *Ibid., den 29. September, 1767.*
209. Zinzendorf, Nicolaus, *Sonderbare Gespräche*, 128-136.
210. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Beilage, Juni, 1786. Conferenz der Arbeiter der Stadt- und Landgemeinen.*

around a garden.''[211] Administered in a spirit of understanding, reservation, prayerfulness and Christian love, its function was corrective rather than punitive.[212] At a faculty meeting at Nazareth Hall, the teachers were admonished to recall their daily petition to the Lord, ''Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us,'' and to fulfill their ''Heaven-imposed obligation of pardon towards their pupils.''[213] At a similar meeting in the Frederickstown school, Brother Francke instructed his teachers that

> . . . if they should ever notice anything among their pupils which was not done to the glory of God, they should pray for those ill-behaved children. Acts of misconduct should be reported at the semi-weekly conferences, where such matters could be discussed and dealt with prayerfully and earnestly. The children were told of this plan and were happy about its adoption.[214]

Never was punishment to be applied in haste or in a state of emotionalism, nor for revenge.[215] In Nazareth Hall and in the boys' school at Lititz, and doubtlessly in others, the teacher against whom the breach of conduct was committed was not permitted by the principal to impose the penalty upon the guilty pupil. The matter was referred to a third party, usually another teacher, whose disinterest and unemotionalism would permit a verdict fair to both sides.[216] This policy was thoroughly in accord with Ratke and Comenius who held adamantly that discipline should never become a function of the teacher, lest it sever, through fear, the bond of devotion between him and his pupils.[217] A warm affection towards his pupils, ''the Saviour's peculiar favorites,'' was recommended ''to render everything, which would otherwise appear a burden, easy and pleasant.''[218] Drastic punishment was

211. *Protocoll des Gemeinraths in Warwick, Dezember, 1756.*
212. *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia, loc. cit.*
213. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Beilage, Juni, 1760.*
214. *Ibid., Frederickstown, den 10. März, 1746.*
215. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 7. Juli, 1771.*
216. *Ibid.*
217. Laurie, S. S., *John Amos Comenius,* 41.
218. Instructions for the Teachers of the Bethlehem Boarding School. That such affection existed is made clear by many testimonials included in early Moravian manuscripts. Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Franklin repeatedly expressed themselves "friendly and well-pleased," saying that "the Brethren had done very well by their nephew, Benjamin Crocker." After young Benjamin had been returned from the Frederickstown School "to be made into a German printer" by his famous uncle, he came "several times to see Br. Adolph and Br. Cremser (who were in Philadelphia on a visit from Frederickstown) and shewed much love towards them." (Diary of the Moravian Congregation of Philadelphia, June 1, 1750.)

never recommended and was seldom found necessary in Moravian schools. Simple means were generally sufficient to lead straying pupils back to the straight and narrow path of conformity. For lack of attention or of diligence, the deprivation of such naive pleasures as the day's singing period, the story hour, or reading from their cherished *Büchlein*[219] was found to be "more potent than the rod."[220] It was considered wise to adjust penalties to the age and temperament of the pupils on whom they were to be inflicted.[221]

Severe disciplinary measures were expendable because of the sound philosophy which underlay Moravian education and because of the efficient practices which were applied to it. The German and the Christian teacher, in whose vocabulary and thought *nützlich* and *glücklich* were synonymous, believed firmly that busy and useful children were contented and happy children; and by proper direction of their time and talents to wholesome and creative activities, he allowed little, if any, inclination or energy on their part for negative social behavior. The system of constant surveillance of the children by their pastors at church, by their elders in the Choir, by their teachers at school and by their parents at home was a distinguishing feature of early Moravian education,[222] and kept juvenile delinquency among Moravians to a negligible quantity. Problems attending the opening of a new school were greatly eased by the judicious practice of transferring a few pupils from one of the Brethren's well-established schools to a newly-formed one to serve as "glowing embers,"[223] or shining examples to the children who were inexperienced in Moravian practices.[224] The parents' deep responsibility for the welfare of the teacher and their abiding respect for the nobility of his career reacted contagiously upon their children.[225] Close cooperation between parents and teachers resulted in an unified, coordinated and efficient system of supervision of the youth of the community.[226] Segregation of the sexes in all Moravian schools and the high degree of homogeneity among their pupils further

219. *Supra*, 294.
220. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Kinder-Diarium, den 27. Juni, 1755.*
221. Zinzendorf, Nicolaus, *Kurzer Aufsatz, loc. cit.*
222. *Protocoll des Gemeinraths, Warwick, Dezember, 1757.*
223. A phrase coined by Spangenberg.
224. *Cf.* biographical sketch (*MS*) of Anna Boehler, who was sent as a "glowing ember" from Nazareth to the school at Emmaus.
225. Brotherly Agreement, Hebron, November 4, 1781.
226. *Protocoll der Prov. Helf. Conf., den 13. März, 1792.*

reduced the necessity of an extensive code of discipline. The Moravian authorities did not permit their schools to serve as reformatories for wayward youth.[227] Children whose parents were unknown to the local preacher and teacher were invariably accepted only *auf eine Probe,* or on approval.[228] On very rare occasions it was found expedient to return a child to his parents because of his continued misconduct.[229]

In the Brethren's seminaries and academies, where larger and somewhat more heterogeneous student bodies lived and boarded in distinct households, certain reasonable regulations were considered necessary for their comfortable and efficient maintenance. Each of those several institutions adopted "Rules and Regulations" at its inception, thereafter renewing or modifying them annually. The restrictions which these rules imposed upon the individual were not autocratic or irrational, but were sensibly purposed either for the welfare of the group at large or to develop correct personal habits or to instill an honorable regard for authority, as the following examples indicate, respectively:

1. During the hours appointed for the Sewing School, Knitting, etc. from 1 to 4 o'clock, the misses will carefully avoid all unnecessary talk or running in and out of the room at random, as it would greatly disturb those that have their Music School or Practice on the Instrument.
2. Their books, slates, pencils, inkstands, clothes, and all other things they have to keep in good order and at their proper places.
3. The Tutoresses being entrusted with a parental charge of educating and instructing their pupils, they have a right to expect from them the same respect and attention which is due from children to their parents.[230]

Fines were sometimes imposed upon the boarders as penalties for their infractions of the rules. The following system was developed at Nazareth Hall: "A farthing for talking at meals, a ha'penny for falling on the floor, 1d. for tearing a leaf out of a book, 2d. for telling a lie, 3d. for an oath."[231] The Bethlehem Seminary girls were required to pay "1d. for speaking at meals

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227. In the early years "problem" children were placed in a kind of reform school conducted by the Brethren first in the Long Swamp and later in the Ysselstein House. *Supra,* 130.

228. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 2. Februar, 1771.*

229. *Ibid., den 2. Oktober, 1801;* also *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 16. September, 1751.*

230. Rules of Bethlehem Boarding School, 1801.

231. Adams, Oscar F., *Some Famous American Schools,* 23.

except to the Tutoress, 6d. for spilling ink, 6d. for wasting apples, 6d. for wasting bread, that precious Gift of God!"[232]

There seem to have been very few cases of discipline for which the penalty of fines or the "unfriendly bench"[233] were not sufficiently potent. The excellent pupil deportment which characterized their boarding schools was due in part, at least, to the Brethren's careful selection of students,[234] to their ability to retain them for extended periods of time,[235] to the constant supervision which their generous supply of teachers made possible,[236] and to their conscientious endeavor to apply effective motivation to all intra-mural activities. The principal's never-waning interest in the pupils of his school stimulated their eagerness to win his praise. The Reverend J. A. Huebner found it easy to gain the girls' support of the high standards of conduct which he set for the Young Ladies' Seminary at Bethlehem, by addressing them in an approving manner, of which the following was typical: "All our dear Misses are justly entitled to the approbation of their Tutoresses, with respect to their conduct at meals. A further continuance will induce the Tutoresses to promote their Christmas joys, while the contrary will prove their loss."[237] In the same school, in 1827, Brother Seidel proposed a plan of pupil rewards whereby "each teacher should have a book, with the names of the scholars in her classes, for every perfect lesson they should receive a Ticket, for 10 Tickets a Diligence, and for 12 Diligences

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232. Regulations of the Young Ladies' Boarding School at Bethlehem during the Administration of Brother Benade.

233. Cornelia Lott Greene, daughter of General Greene, seems to have been a bright but mischievous student, whom, during her four years at the Bethlehem Seminary, it was sometimes necessary to isolate from her room-company and seat upon the "unfriendly bench."

234. Although the boarding schools, after 1785, were open to all, Nazareth Hall denied admission to a Catholic boy in 1803 because "it was not expedient to arrange for the Catholic instruction which his father desired for him." (*Protocoll der Helf. Conf., den 23. September, 1803.*) Negro children were only sometimes rejected because of the Brethren's desire for homogeneity. In 1800 it was decreed by the authorities that no French boys be admitted to Nazareth Hall. Albanus Logan was refused admittance to that school in 1801 because his father, Dr. Logan, was "politically influential, which fact might have had an effect on his son and on the latter's associates in the Hall." (*Ibid., den 20. Oktober, 1801.)*

235. The school authorities expected their students to remain no less than one year.

236. *Supra*, 314.

237. Protocoll of the Seminary, November 24, 1789.

Arithmetic Class 1st.

J. Bonnes — very diligent
A. Howe — do
L. Hall — do
A. M. Baylor — do
M. Wolle very diligent when she does attend.
E. Wells progresses but slowly
S. Scott progresses rather better than formerly
E. Berg. does better now, than when she first entered the class.
E. Wolle does tolerably well.
E. Cunningham does tolerably well; but would do better, if she were more fond of Cyphering.

The scholars of this class, conduct themselves very politely towards their teacher.

A. W. L.

(Courtesy of the Moravian College and Seminary for Women, Bethlehem)

TEACHER'S REPORT OF PUPILS' PROGRESS IN ARITHMETIC

a Reward."[238] One month later, "the Teachers met again; and it was thought a good plan that the Diligences should be distributed monthly by the Teachers, and the Rewards quarterly by the Inspector. For 4 Rewards the scholars were entitled to a Premium."[239] By the following year, "8 Diligences entitled the Scholars to a Reward," and "tickets were no longer to be given, only noted down in the Teacher's book."[240] This merit plan promoted by Brother Seidel was a modified version of John Beck's system of "Honor Badges," a mere chance observance of which, as had already been shown, had the far-reaching effect of changing his village school at Lititz into one of the most prominent academies in Pennsylvania.[241] He himself gave the following description of the method by which he rewarded his boys' diligence:

> . . . I had prepared a number of Badges of Honor of various sizes and colors, each one containing a motto of praise in bright gilt letters, and otherwise beautifully ornamented; when hung up along the wall of the school-room, they presented a handsome appearance, and contrasted most pleasingly with the rough and dark walls thereof; on each a number, such as 10, 20, 30, 40, etc. was painted, whilst a strap with a button attached, served to suspend them to the heart of any boy who had recited best in the various branches of his class, and enabled the recipient conveniently to carry the badge of distinction of his parents. A regular account was then kept, and at the close of the morning and evening exercises, each of those who had received one of them, obtained a credit for the number on its face. At the expiration of a month, all such credits were added together, and the boy who had the highest number, was gladdened with some such prize as a book, knife, etc. And anyone who conducted himself improperly, lost all that he had gained. This method had an astonishing effect upon every boy, and they applied themselves to their lessons, early and late, each one energetically striving for the highest numbers.[242]

III. Summary

The educational philosophy upon which the Brethren's early schools in Pennsylvania were founded was affected by the pedagogical and religious writings and practices of Count Zinzendorf, August Spangenberg and Paul Layritz; by the Pietistic theories of Francke disseminated at the University of Halle; by the af-

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238. *Ibid.*, September 21, 1827.
239. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1827.
240. *Ibid.*, January 2, 1828.
241. *Supra*, 101ff.
242. Beck, John, *Valedictory Letter*, 7-8.

filiation between the University of Jena and the Renewed Moravian Church; and by the Church schools which were established at Herrnhut and elsewhere after 1722. Zinzendorf, Spangenberg and Layritz maintained that education must assume the threefold function of purifying the soul, expanding the mind, and nurturing the body. For this harmonious human development they placed the responsibility on the Christian home, the school, and the religious congregation. Zinzendorf's innumerable educational writings included catechisms, collections of hymns and daily texts, sermons and talks to children, and exhortations to adults concerning children. Spangenberg's unusual administrative ability enabled him to arrange and superintend the economic life and enterprises at Bethlehem and Nazareth, direct the establishment of the numerous *Stadt-und Landgemeinen* in the colonies, coordinate the routes of the itinerant preachers and teachers to and from those scattered congregations, supervise the missions among the Indians, preside over the sessions of the Pennsylvania Synods, and found schools for Moravian and non-Moravian children. His greatest literary contribution was a textbook of physiology and hygiene, *Etwas von der Pflege des Leibes für Kinder*, in which he expounded the pedagogical doctrine of the simultaneous growth of the child's physical, mental and spiritual faculties. In 1776, Layritz published his *Betrachtungen über eine verständige und christliche Erziehung der Kinder*, a concise handbook of educational principles for the Moravian schoolmasters in Pennsylvania and a manual to guide parents in the training of their children.

Because the problems of the country congregational schools were so many and burdensome, and because their teachers were in need of instructional guidance, an itinerary plan of school supervision was instituted and maintained as a regular department in Moravian educational administration. Between 1752 and 1754, Philip Christian Bader, former student and teacher at the University of Jena, made at least three such supervisory visits to the schools of the *Landgemeinen*, introducing the "Jena" method for the teaching of spelling, writing, reading and arithmetic. This *Jenaische Buchstabier- und Schulmethode* may have been extracted from the principles of Erhard Weigel's *Tugendschule* at Jena and may have been identical with the simpler elements of the Weigelian *Schreib-Lese- und Rechnenmethoden*. Moravian schools were also conducted according to the catechetical and lecture methods. Student participation in the management and mainte-

nance of the schools was common. Before 1785, the semi-annual public examinations at the end of the school terms in May and November were spiritual, educational and social affairs, which, with the advent of the academies and seminaries, lost their former spontaneity, and unfortunately became artificial and stereotyped recitals.

In the total plan of Moravian education, the place of the Christian home was central. That parents and prospective parents needed instruction for the effective training of their children was recognized by the Moravian Church in all its departments. To supplement the religious nurture furnished in the home, in the school, in the Choir system, *Kinder-Eltern* were provided by the Church to serve as itinerant spiritual counselors to the parents and children of the numerous and scattered *Landgemeinen*. To implement the Brethren's broadly evangelical theory of discipline, "the chastening and admonition of the Lord" was the main stimulus required or provided. The teacher's position by the call of God and the community was *in loco parentis*, and a positive example of worthy emulation for the pupils was demanded at all times. Harsh disciplinary measures were superfluous because of the sound philosophy which underlay Moravian education and because of the efficient and sensible practices and regulations which were applied to it, particularly the proper direction of the pupils' time and talents to wholesome and creative activities, and the unified system of supervision of the youth of the community through the close cooperation between parents and teachers.

Chapter IX

ORGANIZATION, CONTROL AND SUPPORT OF MORAVIAN SCHOOLS

1. Education a Function of the Church in Colonial Pennsylvania

The founder of Pennsylvania had recognized the importance of educating the youth of his Province[1] and had proposed a number of provisions toward that end more than half a century before the Moravians took up residence there.[2] Unfortunately the

1. In a communication, Penn commented on education as follows: "Upon the whole matter I take the freedom to say, that, if we would preserve our government, we must endear it to the people. To do this, besides the necessity to present just and wise things, we must secure the youth: this is not to be done, but by the amendment of the way of their *education;* and that with all convenient speed and diligence. I say, the government is highly obliged; it is a sort of trustee for the youth of the kingdom; who, though minors, yet will have the government, when we are gone. Therefore *depress vice*, and *cherish virtue*, that through *good education*, they may become good; which will truly render them happy in this world, and a good way fitted for that which is to come. If this be done, they will owe more to your memories for their *education*, than for their estates." (Proud, Robert, *History of Pennsylvania*, I, 11.)

2. The preface to the *Frame of Government*, written in England in 1682, provided: "That therefore, which makes a good Constitution, must keep it, *viz*: men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth, for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders, and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies." (*Colonial Records*, I, xxiii.) *Section 13* of that *Frame* included provision for a committee on education. (*Ibid.*, I, xxvi) and *Section 28* of the *Laws* provided for a system of vocational education. (*Ibid.*, I, xxxii.) The frame of government drawn up February 2, 1683 stipulated that "the Governor and Provincial Council shall erect and order the public schools, and encourage and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions, in the said provinces and territories thereof." (*Ibid.*, I, xxxvi.) At the meeting of the second Assembly at Philadelphia on March 10th of the same year, provisions concerning education were drawn up" . . . to the end that the poor as well as the rich may be instructed in good and commendable learning, which is to be preferred before wealth . . . Be it enacted, That all persons in the Province and Territories thereof, having children, and all the guardians and trustees of orphans, shall cause such to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain twelve years of age; and that then they be taught some useful trade or skill, that the poor may work to live, and the rich if they become poor may not want: of which every County Court shall take care. And in case such parents, guardians, or overseers shall be found

deficient in this respect, every such parent, guardian, or overseer shall pay for every such child, five pounds, except there should appear an incapacity in body or understanding to hinder it." (Wickersham, James Pyle, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, 39.)

educational proposals of Penn and of his immediate successors were not enforced by the Proprietors, the Governors, the Provincial Council or the General Assembly. The first three quarters of the eighteenth century were barren as far as provincial provisions for education were concerned. Indeed, the last Charter of Privileges granted by Penn himself in 1701, which continued in force until the adoption of the Constitution of 1776, contained nothing relating to education.[3] The provision in the earlier Charters in regard to the establishment of public schools was omitted, and the laws based thereupon seem consequently to have died with it. In the few legislative enactments during this long, educationally barren period which touched the subject at all, the state looked toward the churches to provide the necessary education and assisted them in doing so by granting certain powers, *to wit:* On July 7, 1712, an act was passed "empowering Religious Societies, Towns, and Villages to buy, hold and dispose of Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments."[4] This Act was repealed by the passage of a more comprehensive one on February 6, 1730, entitled "An Act for enabling Religious Societies of Protestants within this Province to purchase Lands for burying grounds, Churches, Houses of Worship, Schools, etc."[5]

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3. Christopher Saur, in the *Pennsylvanische Berichte* for August 16, 1747, attributed the absence of educational provisions from the legislation of the times, in part to the fact that William Penn, being a Quaker, desired to allow each religious group utmost freedom in the organization and conduct of schools, hence each body of people was permitted to educate its youth as it wished, or as it was able.
4. *Colonial Records*, II, 363, 553.
5. This bill provided "that it shall and may be lawful to and for any religious society of Protestants, within the Province, to purchase, take and receive by gift, grant, or otherwise, for burying grounds, erecting churches, houses of religious worship and almshouses, for any estate whatsoever, and to hold the same for the uses aforesaid, of the lord of the fee, by the accustomed rents." (*Ibid.*, III, 394.) This measure seems to have been a protective one, since the earlier land grants were held for the churches in the names of the trustees. The latter often changed their minds and their religious affiliations, with the dire consequence that the congregation would lose the land and the buildings erected thereon, sometimes including the schoolhouse. (Livingood, Frederick George, *Eighteenth Century Reformed Church Schools*, 9.)

Penn's broad educational platform having been abandoned and the Province hardly exerting itself in behalf of education, the instruction of youth became the function of the several churches. Had it not been that the various denominations and sects[6] were more cognizant of the need of education than were the provincial authorities, a state of even greater intellectual darkness would have been the fate of certain sections of Pennsylvania, particularly the German settlements. In Gottlieb Mittelberger's description of his visit to Pennsylvania, he lamented that many hundred children on account of the great distance and many forests, were unable to attend school, and owing to this many of the planters led "a very wild and heathenish life."[7] Spangenberg had likewise observed that "... in the whole country there are few schools, and there is almost no one who makes youth his concern."[8] Such was the state of educational affairs among the German settlers when the Moravians came to Pennsylvania in 1740.

II. Control and Support of Moravian Education during the Communal Period, 1742-1762

It will be remembered that the establishment of schools and the posting of missions were an opportune and welcome enterprise for the early, missionary-minded Moravians to disseminate the truths of soul-salvation among their black, red and white brethren in the new world. Nor did they lose a single opportunity in that field of spiritual endeavor. Schools in the three *Ortsgemeinen* were in each case established *ab urbe condita.*[9] From the age of eighteen months through adolescence, the boys and girls of those Church settlements were boarded, clothed and educated successively in the *Kinderanstalt*, in the *Mädchen- und Knabenanstalten*, and in the *Chorhäuser*. Under the communal system adopted in the Moravian *Ortsgemeinen*, whereby parents were preoccupied

6. In considering the educational efforts of the religious groups in Pennsylvania, it must be recalled that the work was conducted both by Germans and English, by the Quakers, Lutherans, Moravians, Reformed, Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists and the various sects. Besides, there were a number of private venture schools, conducted by individual teachers on their own responsibility.
7. Mittelberger, Gottlieb, *Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in 1754*, 61.
8. Spangenberg's "Report to the Authorities in Europe," in Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton's *History of the Moravian Church*, 104-5. (See Chapter VIII, Footnote 63.)
9. For a detailed account of the educational institutions of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz, see Chapters II, III, IV, respectively.

with their employment for the General Economy, the responsibility of rearing their sons and daughters rested almost exclusively upon the various educational institutions of the Church.[10] In 1756, sixty-two of Bethlehem's 665 adults were serving in the education of children at Bethlehem and Nazareth alone, while fifty-four others were employed in itinerant preaching and teaching among the evangelistically and educationally destitute settlers in scattered locations in Pennsylvania.[11] The annual cost of maintaining a child in the *Anstalten* of the *Ortsgemeinen* was from ten to twelve pounds sterling.[12] In 1750, when 400 Moravian children were being so supported, the minimum cost obviously was from 4,000 to 5,000 pounds.

The heavy expense of these extensive educational undertakings, as well as of the widely ramified Indian missionary endeavors, was borne almost entirely by the Brethren settlers at Bethlehem and Nazareth, which from 1742 to 1762 were united in a so-called "Economy." The inhabitants of these two tracts formed an exclusive association in which prevailed a communion, not of goods, but of labor.[13] Those who had private property retained control of it, but no man worked for himself or carried on a business of his own. All gave their time and the labor of their hands to the Church, from which, in return, they received the necessities of life, of which the education of their children was one of the most essential. Before 1769, all the children of the three *Ortsgemeinen* were educated at the expense of the general treasury of the Unity. The Church made contracts with those who conducted the various industries for her. For example, Matthew Otto was to manage the drug-store for the Church, for which service he received sixty pounds sterling in wages, for heat and light, and an additional six pounds for his child in school.[14] Besides the revenue derived from the many trades and businesses and from the products and services resulting therefrom, the land, steadily purchased by the Economy, was a further source of income through the farm and dairy products produced thereby or

10. *Supra*, 12.
11. Spangenberg, Augustus G., Report to Governor Denny, November 29, 1756.
12. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Bericht Bruder Hermanns vom 26. August, 1750.*
13. The Moravians' own definition of this system was "*In commune oramus, in commune laboramus, in commune patimur, in commune gaudemus.*
14. Sessler, Jacob J., *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians*, 196.

through the lumber contained thereon. The large number of substantial buildings which had to be erected in the *Ortsgemeinen* to meet the needs of the expanding Economy yielded rents from their occupants.[15] The Brethren's unaffected simplicity in living, their German frugality, efficiency, and willingness to work, and the close cooperation in Christian love among their several Choirs were all financial assets of the first order. The Single Brethren and Single Sisters took partial care of the schools' maintenance and domestic work, respectively. The widows frequently did the cooking for the boarding pupils. The latter, in turn, spun thread, wove cloth, sewed, mended and darned for the good of the General Economy. Although the colony of Pennsylvania had passed laws granting religious societies the privilege of raising money by lottery for school purpose,[16] the Moravians never resorted to this means of school support.[17]

In all of the Brethren's financial endeavors there was no self-purpose. The whole profit went not to enrich the corporation or to constitute a fortune for subsequent division among shrewd individuals, but to carry on the work of the Church, of which education was an integral part. The managers of each "diacony," or business, had to maintain accurate accounts of the business transacted. The schools, too, were considered a "diacony," each being required to keep careful ledgers. Their account books were given to salaried bookkeepers every four weeks, of whom there were two in Bethlehem and one in Nazareth. They, in turn, carried the figures into a general account book, which was submitted to and examined by the Provincial Helpers' Conference, the controlling board of the Church in this country, and then sent to the governing board in Europe called the "General Diacony." This central board in Herrnhut was the final authority in all matters and supervised the churches, the missions, the schools and the industries.[18]

Besides the regular *Anstalten* of the *Ortsgemeinen,* the Brethren had opened at least two scores of schools in their various town and country congregations,[19] not only for their own children but also for those of any race, creed or nationality. Usually a married

15. The schools also had to pay rent for the buildings they occupied. *(Protocoll der Helf. Conf., den 26. Januar, 1787.)*
16. Carey, Mathew, and Bioren, J., *Laws of Pennsylvania,* V, 300.
17. Items from House Conferences, Nazareth Hall, January 5, 1801.
18. Sessler, Jacob J., *loc. cit.*
19. For a detailed account of each of the schools of the *Stadt- und Landgemeinen,* see Chapter V.

couple was placed in charge, for even when children were not fed and housed outright, a mid-day meal had to be supplied, especially in winter, due to the scattered condition of the sparse population and to the lack of good roads and adequate transportation facilities.[20] Each of the *Stadt-und Landgemeinen* was expected to bear most of the responsibility for its congregational and educational expenses. In certain cases, as in Emmaus,[21] Hebron[22] and Heidelberg,[23] individual members gave lands for the *Gemeinhaus* and for the support of the minister and teacher, who were often the same person.[24] The latter in the early days received no salary, only the necessary living costs and traveling expenses. Frequently in his spare-time he would support himself by the labor of his hands at some trade as did the Apostle Paul, considering it his ample reward if, by his labors, children and their parents were brought to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. In all cases these congregations did what they could to maintain their school. In the rural settlements the brethren and sisters would offer regular donations of provisions from their farms or wood from their forests. Sometimes just the gift of a cow would help the schoolmaster and his wife to live more substantially for the year.[25]

All of the town and country congregational schools, before 1754, were "union" schools to which non-Moravian pupils were admitted. The latter and their parents were personally interviewed by the Moravian schoolmaster or pastor and were informed of the rules and regulations of the Brethren's schools.[26] A small fee was paid by all children, Moravian and otherwise, who attended the Brethren's schools outside of the regular *Ortsgemeinen*. This assessment was fixed in accordance with the parents' resources. The charge for a month's schooling in the second Moravian school of Germantown[27] was one shilling and six pence.[28] Frequently the payment was made in kind rather than in currency. Lewis Klotz, the brother of Albrecht who was landlord

20. Hamilton, J. Taylor, *History of the Moravian Church*, 138-9.
21. *Supra*, 155ff.
22. *Supra*, 144ff.
23. *Supra*, 120ff.
24. *Protocoll der Prov. Helf. Conf., den 4. November, 1805.*
25. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 8. Juli, 1764.*
26. *Ibid., den 5. März, 1754.*
27. *Supra*, 171ff.
28. The Ledger of the Germantown School, from April 1746 until ult. 1748.

of the Rose, was attached to the Moravians as early as 1745, residing in the neighborhood of their settlement at Macungy (Emmaus). His children were educated at the Brethren's boarding school there, from whence the following receipt[29] was issued:

May 24, 1747, Received of Lewis Klotz towards paying of his children's board and schooling:

3 Cows	£ 9	
2 Calves		10
1 Mare and little Colt with bell on Mare	7	
1 Cow-bell		5
	£16	15

The following are extracts from the account books of the Brethren's second school in Germantown:

Sister Barbara Leibert in Philadelphia.
Her son Martin came to board with us,
November 14, 1746, at 6 £ per year.

One Dutch Spelling book	9 sh.
Board and schooling for her son Martin from November 13, 1746 to May 3, 1747, 6 mos.	3 L
6 Barrels Vinegar. 14 sh. per Barrel 6 Months to November 13	3 L

Among things taken in part payment:
Bacon 13 d. per pound
Tallow for Bethlehem
Seed Celery
Cash
Butter
Suet
Linen
Beans[30]

Other merchandise offered from time to time in payment for boarding and tuition fees included: "¼ hundred of Sugar (14S), a cartload of Hay (3£ 10S), a bushel of Indian Corn (2S 2d), and 38 pounds of Beef (8S 3d)."[31] Charges were made for "washing and mending (2 years' service for 8S), English Spelling Book (1S, 6d), 2 doz. Dutch Spelling Books at 9d a piece (18S), English Testament (2S 6d), Dutch Testament (3S 6d), slate and

29. Reichel, William C., *A Red Rose from the Olden Times*, 285.

30. Germantown School Account Book, 21. The Widow Leibert must have kept a store in Philadelphia, since she bought vinegar (and many brooms, according to receipts) from the school's Economy, and paid her son's tuition fees in merchandise.

31. The Ledger of the Germantown School from April 1746 until ult. 1748.

sponge (3S), a pair of shoes (4S), mending a pair of shoes (1S 1d), and a pair of worsted stockings (2S 10d)."[32]

If the country congregational schools had been well and regularly attended, the total of the small individual tuition fees would have maintained them adequately. There were, however, many insurmountable factors at work to keep those rural schools from full session. In winter, particularly in inclement weather, the distance over poor roads was too great for the younger children,[33] while in summer the older pupils were kept at home to help with the planting and harvesting of crops.[34] Indian hostilities closed several of the rural schools for extended periods of time.[35] The occasional illness of a teacher,[36] great difficulty in procuring teachers fluent in both English and German,[37] domestic responsibilities imposed upon the older girls,[38] poverty too great to provide suitable clothing for the children, general apathy to school matters, and sometimes a distrust of the "Herrnhuters"[39] worked together among the country folk as impediments to the Brethren's sincere attempt to assist in the mental and spiritual culture of their countrymen in the remote villages of Pennsylvania. By 1754, the Moravians had given up the practice of "union" schools in many of their settlements, and tended to confine their educational efforts to the children of their own people.[40] However, the

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32. *Ibid.*
33. *Diarium d. G. z. Lititz, den 4. Januar, 1760.*
34. *Ibid., den 6. Juli, 1759.* The harvest recess in Warwick in 1760 lasted from June 20th to July 28.
35. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, den 12. Januar, 1756; den 2. November, 1756; den 12. April, 1758.*
36. *Diarium d. G. z. Warwick, den 20. Januar, 1757.*
37. *Diarium d. G. z. Bethlehem, Arbeiter-Conferenz der Stadt- und Landgemeinen, den 11.-14. Juni, 1786.*
38. *Ibid., Relation von einem Kinder-Besuch der Geschw. Ettweins in Oley und Maguntsche, September, 1754.*
39. In Philadelphia, for instance, the English accused the officers of the Moravian school in Germantown of forcing the English children "to eat German victuals" and of being bent in every way upon "dutchifying them." The Germans, on the other hand, maintained that the English were encouraging carnal liberty, pride and other cardinal sins. These national differences assumed such alarming proportions that Spangenberg came down from Bethlehem and told the Philadelphia congregation that "it was not the intention of the Church to bring up the children of English brethren carnally, making them too effeminate for service as pilgrims, animadverting severely on undue liberty and spiritual pride, and affirming that the Church recognized no difference whatever between English and German." (Jacobson, Herman, *The Moravian Church in Philadelphia*, 14.)
40. Miscellaneous *MSS.*, 1727-1758, Northampton County, Pa., 159.

Church authorities were ever reluctant to turn down the occasional appeals of non-Moravian parents for permission to send their offspring to the Brethren's town and country schools, and the records prove that such children were admitted as late as 1771.[41] The "Hebron Diary" of 1771 states:

> A man who lives on D. Bühler's farm came and asked if I would take his son into our school. He complained bitterly about the schoolmaster of the school to which the boy had previously gone, saying that he had often been intoxicated and would blaspheme and beat the children unmercifully. I permitted the man to send his son on probation."[42]

III. The Financial Reorganization of Moravian Education after 1762

When the General Economy was abrogated in 1762, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz still remained exclusive Moravian settlements, none of which had any property of its own. It all belonged to the *Unitas Fratrum* and was managed by the General Diacony from 1762 to 1771. The pecuniary embarrassment of the Moravian Church, arising from the vast extent of its gospel and educational enterprises and the heavy expenses attending them, impelled the General Synod, held in Marienborn, Germany, in 1769, to adopt a rigid system of retrenchment of expenditures. To carry into effect these measures of economy, the Unity's Elders' Conference dispatched two Brethren, Gregor and Lorez, to this country to inquire into the state of financial matters here.[43] The specific effects of this investigation on the schools of the three *Ortsgemeinen* and of the *Stadt- und Landgemeinen* have been discussed in detail in their respective chapters. In general, three changes in school policy resulted: (1) From that time on, only the children of Moravian ministers and missionaries continued to be educated, either in day schools or in boarding institutions, at the expense of the Church. (2) The former *Anstalten*, or boarding schools, were reorganized to include parochial day schools *(Ortsschulen)* for the local children, to diminish the cost of operation. (3) The reduction in the number of pupils to be educated by the Church, especially on the secondary level, made it possible for the authorities to be more selective in their choice of students.

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41. *Diarium der Land-Gemeinen, Oley, den 17. September, 1759; Ibid., Bethel, den 2. Februar, 1761; Ibid., Catorus Township, den 26. Oktober, 1761; Ibid., Hebron, den 12. Dezember, 1769.*
42. *Diarium d. G. z. Hebron, den 2. Februar, 1771.*
43. Reichel, Levin T., *History of Nazareth Hall*, 22.

A new period began financially on June 1, 1771, when the Sustentation Diacony was established and, along with it, another, known as the School Diacony, for the education of the children of the Moravian clergy.[44] These diaconies were under the control of the Provincial Helpers' Conference; but an agent of the Unity represented the General Synod in control of the property of the Church in the American Province. However, neither diacony owned any funds. Together they simply constituted the general treasury of the Province. In the beginning their receipts were exceedingly limited; but in the course of years, they received occasional small bequests and began an extensive system of credit. Their chief sources of income were the stated amounts paid annually by the Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz Diaconies, and especially the profits of the boarding schools located in each of those settlements.[45] The country and town congregations were pledged to take up annual[46] and semi-annual[47] collections, respectively, to supplement the tuition fees in the support of their schools.[48] These *Kinderanstalten-Collecten* were, however, exceedingly irregular and often netted inconsequential pittances.[49] As a result, the School Diacony was frequently called upon to make up deficits in the country congregational schools' budgets to cover bills for repairs to the school buildings,[50] for traveling expenses of the teachers,[51] for the latters' salaries[52] which in 1787 were fixed at "36£ per annum for the male teach-

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44. The Provincial Helpers' Conference reported in its *Protocoll* on August 22, 1726 that "the annual sum of £20 was paid to Br. & Sr. Beck, who were stationed at Heidelberg, for their son's education at Nazareth Hall"; and on July 22, 1805, that "Caroline Schropp, of the Older Girls' Choir, was awarded £20, or 53 dollars 33 cents, for every year that she can profit by the instruction of the Girls' Boarding School in Bethlehem."

45. De Schweinitz, Edmund, *The Financial History of the American Province of the Unitas Fratrum and of its Sustentation Fund*, 21.

46. Such collections in the *Stadt- und Landegemeinen* were usually taken once a year on Michaelmas, September 29th.

47. In the closed *Ortsgemeinen* of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz, there were two such collections a year, one at Easter and the other on Michaelmas.

48. *Protocoll der Prov. Helf. Conf., den 26. Juli, 1785.*

49. *Ibid., Schreiben an alle unsere N.A. Orts- Stadt- und Landegemeinen für die jährlichen Collecten der Anstalten betreffend, Bethlehem, den 2. September, 1785.*

50. *Protocoll der Prov. Helf. Conf., den 6. August, 1784.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid., den 22. August, 1804.*

ers and at 25£ for the females,"[53] and even for unpaid tuition fees.[54]

It will be remembered that the School Diacony paid for the schooling of only those children whose parents were serving the Church as pastors or as missionaries. The sons and daughters of other Moravian families in all the Brethren's settlements were required to pay tuition fees, usually in quarterly installments which were not collected by the schoolmaster himself, but by a member of the local school committee.[55] In 1763, this assessment was fixed at six pence per week for each child in the Bethlehem *Ortsschulen*. It was stated that the rate was placed within the means of all parents so that the question of their ability to pay should not arise.[56] At times, this trifling income from tuition had to be supplemented by appropriations made by the School Diacony to provide the meager salaries paid the two brethren who taught the boys and the one sister who instructed the girls of the village in one of the rooms of the boarding school. Also, in 1763, the rates at the Bethlehem Female Seminary were fixed at ten pounds per year, the girls performing some domestic chores to compensate in part for their board and instruction.[57] The town and country congregational schools, in 1803, were paying "an average tuition of ten shillings per quarter, with a reduction to be made for any day's absence due to the child's illness."[58]

IV. The Organization, Control and Support of the Moravian Academies and Seminaries, 1785-1840

It has been shown that during the first two decades of their existence, the Brethren's boarding schools at Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz were operated as an adjunct of the General Economy, in which the children of those *Ortsgemeinen* were boarded and instructed at the expense of the general treasury of the Unity, and into which the Brethren's children from other congregations were received for an annual charge of ten pounds sterling for board and education. It has also been shown that the second era in the organizational and financial history of those *Anstalten* oc-

53. *Ibid., den 26. Januar, 1787.*
54. *Ibid., den 5. Februar, 1793; den 1. Dezember, 1801.*
55. *Ibid., den 30. Januar, 1771.*
56. Levering, J. Mortimer, *History of Bethlehem, Pa., 1741-1892*, 424.
57. Mulhern, James, *History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania*, 415.
58. *Protocoll der Prov., Helf. Conf., den 7. Dezember, 1803.*

curred in 1769, after which time only the sons and daughters of the Moravian clergy continued to be educated therein at the expense of the Church,[59] everyone else being required to pay fees. During the communal system and after the ensuing years of financial reorganization, the boarding schools of the *Ortsgemeinen* were open only to the Brethren's children. Having been repeatedly urged to engage in the cause of education outside of its own Church, the General Synod of 1782 sanctioned the assumption of such a responsibilty on the part of the American Executive Board, entrusting the development of the project to Bishop John de Watteville, who was in the United States in the interval between 1784 and 1787 for the purpose of restoring order and unity of action in the Brethren's affairs which had been so materially deranged during the previous decade of war. The increased population movements instigated by the American Revolution had caused widespread appreciation of the Brethren's educational principles and practices and gave rise to a general demand for their extension to non-Moravians. To this pressure from outsiders was added the leveling effects of a new democratic experience in post-Revolutionary America.[60] Accordingly a third organizational era dawned in 1785 in Bethlehem and Nazareth, and in 1794 in Lititz, when the boarding schools then existing in those settlements were fully reorganized, duly remodeled, and opened in the interest of the American public as two female seminaries and one male academy, all under the auspices of the Moravian Church.

To Brother John Andrew Huebner, the pastor of the Bethlehem congregation, were entrusted the control and inspection of the Bethlehem Female Seminary, opened on October 2, 1785, to which girls, Moravian or otherwise, between the ages of eight and twelve years could be admitted and were generally retained until their sixteenth birthday.[61] For board and room, light, heat, laundry, supervision, and instruction in "reading and writing in both the German and English languages, also arithmetic, sewing, knitting, and other feminine arts; likewise in history, geography,

59. Free board and reduced rates of tuition are courtesies extended by most Moravian seminaries and colleges to the offspring of the denomination's ministers even to the present day.

60. De Lawter, George W., The Story of Nazareth Hall Military Academy, 2. The decade of 1780 to 1790 was a flourishing one for American private schools in general.

61. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *A History of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem, Pa.*, 97.

and music, with great care and faithfulness,'' the cost for each pupil was twenty pounds, Pennsylvania currency.[62] At the Academy or *Paedagogium* in Nazareth Hall, opened on the following day, the pupils ''under twelve years of age[63] paid $66.00 *per annum* for tuition, board, lodging, wood, etc., and every scholar above twelve years paid $80.00.''[64] At the time of reorganization in 1794, the rate for a year's board and tuition at the girls' boarding school in Lititz, later known as Linden Hall, was thirty pounds.[65] Since John Beck's Academy at Lititz was a private venture after 1818, its financial structure did not follow the pattern of those institutions which were under the direct control of the Provincial Elders' Conference.[66]

In all of the boarding institutions special fees were charged for instruction beyond the scope of ''common schooling.'' Music was invariably one of these special subjects. For supplying and maintaining certain equipment, including musical instruments, the Bethlehem Female Seminary exacted an annual fee of two Spanish dollars,[67] and in 1790 instruction in music was given for two guineas a year.[68] At the turn of the nineteenth century the girls of the Lititz Boarding School were paying ''6d per hour for piano lessons.''[69] Every pupil who entered Nazareth Hall in 1785 had to pay one guinea for procuring musical instruments, and by 1793 the yearly cost of music instruction in the *Paedagogium* ran as high as twelve dollars.[70] Fine needlework,[71] drawing, painting, and foreign languages[72] were other subjects for which special fees were made. A small amount was also required for the pupils' use of library facilities and scientific apparatus. Separate charges were made for such services as laundry and mending, although

62. Notice by Brother John Andrew Huebner, Pastor of the Bethlehem Congregation, September 2, 1785.
63. Pupils were admitted from the age of six years.
64. *Regulations adopted for the Paedogogium, Section 12.*
65. Beck, Herbert H., *Linden Hall*, 13.
66. For an account of the control and support of the John Beck Academy, see Chapter IV, Section IV.
67. Notice by Brother John Andrew Huebner, September 2, 1785.
68. Rules of the Young Ladies' Boarding School, 1790.
69. Beck, Herbert H., *loc. cit.*
70. De Lawter, George W., *op. cit.*, 33.
71. In the Bethlehem Female Seminary 17S 6d per quarter was the rate charged for tambour work and drawing.
72. In Nazareth Hall, in 1793, a student had to pay $12.00 for a year's instruction in Latin, French, German or Spanish, and $16.00 for Greek.

both boys and girls were encouraged to do the latter for themselves; and for such material aids as medicine, clothing, linen, bedding, books, paper, pens, thread, and needles, unless these items were provided for by the parents or guardians.[73] The total amount of the yearly school expenses for a girl in the Bethlehem Boarding School around 1800 was calculated "at the rate of between 120 and 160 dollars, more or less."[74] All student accounts were payable quarterly in advance. Interest was charged on past due accounts upwards of fifty dollars, but such interest was never compounded.[75]

At the outset, when these institutions had a very limited enrollment and the rates were low, their meager resources required prudent economy and skillful administration. With a borrowed capital of 200 pounds, with rent and salaries to pay from the income, improvements had to be gradual. The schools' bedding and even bedsteads could only be supplied at the parents' cost. The first spinet in use at the Bethlehem Female Seminary was rented from the Sisters' House. Each pupil on entering a seminary or an academy was furnished with certain necessaries on a private account, such as a coffee-mug, a sugar-box, a tea-caddy, a pewter bowl, a knife and a fork.[76] Simplicity and economy had to be exercised in every phase of the schools' households. Meals were wholesome but plain. Coffee, sugar and tea were not included in the charges for board.[77] But before the end of the eighteenth century the financial condition of these institutions was solvent. Tuition rates increased as the enrollments grew heavier and the curricula widened.[78] In 1791, a surplus from the year's receipts of the Bethlehem Female Seminary could be applied towards the reduction of the mortgage of 1000 pounds on the school's new building.[79] Each principal, or inspector, received a salary of sixty pounds a year, paid by his school, plus free abode and wood from the congregational diaconies.[80] The teachers' average salary was forty pounds a year in the early decades of the nineteenth century.[81] In 1832, ten pounds or $26.67 were added. No fixed salary

73. Notice by Brother John Andrew Huebner, September 2, 1785.
74. Terms of 1800, issued by Brother Jacob Van Vleck.
75. *Protocoll der Prov. Helf. Conf., den 12. Mai, 1795.*
76. Reichel, William C., and Bigler, William H., *op. cit.*, 57.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Protocoll der Prov. Helf. Conf., den 1. April, 1791; den 3. März, 1795.*
79. *Ibid., den 1. April, 1791.*
80. *Ibid., den 19. Februar, 1790.*
81. *Ibid., den 1. März, 1808.*

schedule was adopted in any of the schools until after the Civil War.[82] The yearly instructional and boarding fee at Nazareth Hall had risen to $140 per pupil by 1793, and during the ensuing fifty years it reached $200.[83] The Bethlehem Seminary girls paid $120 for tuition and board in 1808, and $144 in 1849; the young ladies at Linden Hall, $140 each in 1752. Occasional bequests, such as that of Godfrey Haga, reinforced the schools' treasuries. In his will he bequeathed $20,000 to be expended at Nazareth Hall for the education of pious young men for the ministry and for missionary endeavors, and $220,000 for the purpose of enlarging the schools in the Indian country of North America and elsewhere, for furnishing and providing books, diet and clothing for such children whose parents are unable to supply them, and for the instruction of persons as schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in the seminaries of Nazareth and Bethlehem.[84]

From the wording of the general act passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1838 "to encourage the arts and sciences, promote the teaching of useful knowledge, and support the Colleges, Academies and Female Seminaries within this Commonwealth . . .," it is evident that the Moravian female seminaries at Bethlehem and Lititz and the Hall at Nazareth were ineligible for a state appropriation as long as they were not incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania.[85] John Beck's Academy, incorporated by the State Legislature of 1836-37, benefited from the law.[86]

By degrees the property originally held by the mother Church at Herrnhut had been transferred to the control of the principal subordinate provinces, each of which was made autonomous in all matters of administration, both ecclesiastical and educational. The chief executive powers of each were vested in a board representative of the region concerned.[87] Thus the Bethlehem Female Seminary, Linden Hall, and Nazareth Hall, in fact, all of the Brethren's schools of Pennsylvania, came under the scrupulous supervision of the Executive Board of the American Province,

82. De Lawter, George W., *op. cit.*, 28.

83. Reichel, Levin T., *op. cit.*, 162.

84. Scharf, John Thomas, and Westcott, Thompson, *History of Philadelphia*, 1330.

85. The Bethlehem Female Seminary and Linden Hall were incorporated on April 3, 1863; Nazareth Hall on April 14, 1863.

86. *Supra*, 111.

87. De Lawter, George W., *op. cit.*, 25.

better known as the Provincial Helpers' Conference and later as the Provincial Elders' Conference. To the three members of this governing board the inspector of each institution could, and frequently did, refer questions of school personnel, material, finance, management, discipline, method and curriculum for final decision and action. When these schools were chartered by the State in 1863, the Provincial Elders' Conference became *ex-officio* the Board of Trustees of each of them.[88]

In the final dissolution of the Economy in 1762 and the financial reorganization of 1771, the Sustentation Fund proper was formed from certain money, credits and properties belonging to the American Province of the Moravian Church after certain settlements had been effected with the Unity and with the three *Ortsgemeinen*. The congregations of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz received the land and the physical plants of the schools. These were, in turn, rented by the local congregation to the Seminary and Academy authorities, until the latter obtained ownership thereof after 1840. Two of the *Ortsgemeinen,* namely Bethlehem and Nazareth, relinquished a part of their property, assigning it to the American Province, to remain unimpaired as a permanent trust fund, to be held by the Church through the Provincial Helpers' Conference, as trustees. The Bethlehem Female Seminary and Nazareth Hall formed a part of the Sustentation Fund. For many years large amounts were contributed by these schools for the education of Moravian ministers' children and to the general income of the Fund. Their status, however, differed materially from that of the Sustentation Fund. They formed separate corporate bodies, their accounts were kept separately, and they were not subject to the same conditions im-

88. In 1898, by action of the Provincial Synod of the Moravian Church in America, Northern Province, and by amendment of the Charters, the property and financial management of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem and of Nazareth Hall, were turned over to Boards of Trustees elected by the Synod for the institutions respectively to be administered by them in the interests of the schools themselves. By ordering that all trusts should be administered "for the benefit of the schools themselves," and that the latter were no longer to be regarded as a source of revenue for the Sustentation Fund, the Synod of 1898 rendered the institutions poor public charities in accordance with the laws of the State, exempting them from taxation, but not impairing the rights of property which the Sustentation Fund had in them, in case of their abandonment as educational institutions. By a later resolution of Synod, the members of the Provincial Elders' Conference and the Principal of the school were made advisory members of the respective boards of trustees.

posed by the settlements made with Bethlehem and Nazareth; but they were the absolute property of the Church and were used principally for educational purposes.[89]

V. Summary

When the Moravians came to Pennsylvania in 1740, they found the educational affairs among the German settlers in a lamentable state. The opportunity to establish schools and to post missions among the evangelically and educationally neglected districts was gratefully seized by the spiritually-minded Brethren, and by 1756 approximately one-sixth of the adult population of Bethlehem was serving as preachers and teachers in either the *Ortsgemeinen* or the *Landegemeinen*. Before 1769, all the children of the three Church settlements were educated at the expense of the general treasury of the Unity, into which went the revenue derived from the many trades and services conducted under the communal system, from the land owned by the "General Economy" and from the products thereof, and from the rents of the spacious buildings erected in those expanding communities. Each of the *Stadt- und Landgemeinen* relied chiefly on the pupils' small tuition fees to carry the expenses of its school, in which both Moravian and non-Moravian children were educated before 1754. In that year the first financial reorganization of Moravian education occurred, by which most of the town and country congregational schools ceased to be "union" schools and admitted only Moravian children, and the local congregations were pledged to take up annual or semi-annual *Kinderanstalten-Collecten* to supplement the tuition fees in support of their educational program.

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89. *Book of Order of the Moravian Church*, 113-114. When in 1898, the properties of these two schools were transferred to the respective boards of trustees, the amounts due to the Sustentation Fund were discharged by payments made and the transfer of certain properties in a settlement made between the trustees of these institutions and the trustees of the Sustentation Fund. A fund was created by the authority of the Provincial Synod of 1861, called the Lititz Special Fund. This consisted of Linden Hall, and certain stocks and bonds, all given to the American Province of the Moravian Church by the Congregation of Lititz, and valued at $20,000. By authority of the Synod of 1898, the property of Linden Hall was transferred to the trustees of the said institution, in trust for the American Province for a consideration of $15,000, for which no interest was to be charged until the said school was in a position to pay it, and provision having first been made to secure the Sustentation Fund against any loans of said school indorsed by the Provincial Treasurer.

As the result of the adoption of a rigid system of retrenchment of expenditures in 1769, only the children of Moravian missionaries and ministers continued to be educated, either in the day schools or in the boarding institutions, through the School Diacony of the Church; the sons and daughters of other Moravian families in all the Brethren's settlements were required to pay tuition fees; the former boarding schools *(Anstalten)* were reorganized to include parochial day schools *(Ortsschulen)* for the local children; and the reduction in the number of pupils to be educated by the Church, especially on the secondary level, made it possible for the authorities to be more selective in their choice of students. A third organizational period began in 1785 in Bethlehem and Nazareth, and in 1794 in Lititz, when the boarding schools then existing in those settlements were fully remodeled and opened in the interest of the American public as two female seminaries and one male academy, all under the auspices of the Moravian Church, but entirely supported by the students' tuition fees which, although meager in the early days, were adequate because of the schools' economical and efficient administration.

Chapter X

CONCLUSION

It is very probable that the Brethren never represented more than one percent of Pennsylvania's total population at any time between 1740 and 1840, but the extent of their education in the State was much greater than their relatively small numbers would suggest. Moravian academies and seminaries were known and admired at home and abroad after their reorganization in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and the development of each of those boarding schools is a creditable chapter in the educational history of Pennsylvania. But decades before those institutions—the Young Ladies' Seminary at Bethlehem, Nazareth Hall, and Linden Hall at Lititz—were opened to the general American public, the Moravian Church had conducted a nursery, day schools, boarding schools, vocational training centers, and evening classes for adults in each of the congregational towns of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz. Besides, at least a score of day schools and boarding institutions for Moravian and non-Moravian children were established in the town and country congregations in that part of Pennsylvania out of which eleven counties—Berks, Bucks, Carbon, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Monroe, Montgomery, Northampton, Philadelphia and York—were subsequently carved. To the educational facilities in the three *Ortsgemeinen* and to the long register of schools of the far-flung *Stadt- und Landgemeinen,* must be added the Brethren's extensive and intensive program of Indian evangelization and education across the State, particularly at Friedenshütten near Bethlehem, Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning, Gnadenthal, Nain, Shamokin, Meniolagomeka and Wyalusing. In addition to their own numerous and varied educational enterprises, there is some evidence of the Brethren's influence, although slight, in the establishment or development of several prominent non-Moravian institutions in Pennsylvania, such as the University of Pennsylvania, Franklin College and Lancaster County Academy.

Moravian education was as inclusive as it was extensive. Under the "General Economy," that system of management instituted in the Brethren's exclusive Church settlements by which each member labored for the common good and which had the effect of making the family unit and the private home virtually nonexistent, the care and education of all children from infancy

through adolescence were the full responsibility of the Church and its schools. Moravian schools were all-inclusive denominationally. From the very beginning, the town and country congregational schools educated children of all faiths; and after 1785, the academies and seminaries were opened to every denomination as a result of popular demand and of the social and economic forces at work in the newly-created American commonwealth. It is to the Brethren's credit that this inclusion of all creeds never resulted in the suppression of religious freedom or in proselyting for their own Church. Moravian education was inclusive in the matter of nationality. It was, of course, natural that the majority of the children in the Brethren's schools in Pennsylvania should be of German parentage, but the sons and daughters of English and Scotch-Irish settlers were heartily and unselfishly welcomed into all the town and country congregational schools, even though their presence frequently wrought a language hardship upon the already heavily-burdened schoolmaster. Moravian education was racially inclusive. Negro and Indian children mingled freely with the Brethren's offspring in the boarding schools as well as in the day schools. The aim of Moravian education was liberally inclusive, intending, as it did, to develop the whole child by cultivating his soul, his mind and his body. To implement such symmetrical development, an all-inclusive curriculum had to be provided, offering spiritual guidance and moral discipline, intellectual and cultural pursuits, vocational training, social cultivation and physical exercise. These broad areas of educational experience required four steps of progression through the nursery, the primary school, the academy or seminary, and the choir houses; and also placed the comprehensive responsibility for education upon the parents, the teachers, the pastors, the choir elders and the *Kinder-Eltern*, the latter having been the antecedents of today's guidance counselors.

The Brethren placed great emphasis on the spiritual values in the educative process. This was only natural in a Church whose cardinal functions were evangelization and education. The curriculum of their schools made little distinction between secular and sacred learning. Every educational experience had the divine purpose of making the child such as God intended him to be when He made him in His image. From the nursery school through the theological seminary, each day was filled with countless and varied experiences, purposely planned and judiciously placed to develop good and useful citizens of the Lord's kingdom. The

school children were always included in the rites and ceremonies of the congregation, witnessing and participating in the numerous religious events through the year of Moravian life and festivity, so that they might become imbued with the loveliness of Christianity which the world could neither give nor take away. Music's effectiveness in disseminating religious fervor was early recognized by the educational leaders of the Brethren, who used it unsparingly for the spiritual development of the children in all of their schools, combining musical and religious activities, each of which complemented the other in perfect harmony. Such an environment of gladsome piety seems to have brought the pupils abiding contentment and made their schools happy and satisfying abodes. The numerous Moravian diaries are replete with instances in the lives of children to indicate that the schools' unfaltering program of religious training and their unadulterated spiritual atmosphere produced the desired and the desirable results of implanting in the children's hearts a fervent wish to glorify their Creator and Redeemer in word and deed.

The Brethren's schools in Pennsylvania were, however, not based solely upon the traditions of European Pietism. They embodied the practical educational philosophy of the early scientific movement as well as the classical principles of humanism. That the early Moravian educators were proponents of realism was shown, in part, by the utilitarian ideal which paralleled the cultural and spiritual aims in all of their schools from the very beginning. Conscientiously geared to the needs, abilities and interests of the pupils, the curriculum of the day schools and boarding institutions offered a wide variety of educational experiences, and was a veritable reflection of the socio-economic conditions of the community. The Brethren's and Sisters' Houses were among the earliest organized vocational centers in America, whose intent it was to educate Moravian youth in the manual trades and domestic sciences; to supply vocational teachers, music instructors, maintenance and domestic service for the boarding schools, and scriveners of congregational records; and to manufacture most of the products needed by the inhabitants of the town.

Even when viewed from a distance of two hundred years and through eyes opened by subsequent scientific experimentation, the Brethren's educational principles and practices appear to have been remarkably modern. Many of the pedagogical procedures which the twentieth century would claim as the product of its original thought were the accepted practices of the eighteenth-

century Moravian schools. Parent-teachers' meetings, community-school associations, educational and vocational guidance, and student participation in school management were common practices among the Moravians as early as 1750. The civic and social values of student activities were recognized, and a full program of them enriched the regular curriculum, especially in the boarding schools. The colonial Brethren's concept of discipline was identical with the so-called "modern" idea that, by the proper direction of the students' time and talents to wholesome and creative activities, little, if any, inclination or energy is directed toward negative social behavior. There are numerous evidences that the homeroom then had the same guidance purpose and home-link function as in present-day schools. By 1775, every Moravian schoolmaster had, as a teaching-aid, a Church handbook of pedagogy which incorporated a strikingly modern philosophy of education. As early as 1752, an itinerant educational supervisor was initiating the rural teachers in more effective methods of pedagogy, and was coordinating the educational programs of the many and widely-scattered town and country congregational schools. Standards of health were admirably high in the Brethren's schools. Vaccination against contagious diseases was compulsory as early as 1773; infirmaries with nursing care were attached to the boarding schools from the beginning; and a physician was maintained for the nursery school. Death among students was very rare.

Moravian educators believed firmly in the equality of the sexes in education, and stressed a broad and useful training for girls from the beginning of their establishment in Pennsylvania. They maintained that "when you educate a woman, you educate an entire family." This was a decidedly advanced idea for 1742, and a sharp contrast to the New Englanders' opposition to girls' education as late as 1793 on the grounds that "learning might teach wives to correct their husbands." In both principle and practice, women's education in general gained appreciably through the liberal influence of the Brethren's seminaries at Bethlehem and Lititz, which also served as a transitional step to the female college of the nineteenth century.

The Brethren's progressive spirit impelled them to be pioneers in several educational areas. They have to their credit the founding of the first regular music schools in America, the first Protestant girls' boarding school in the United States, and the first church boys' boarding school in Pennsylvania open to all. Amer-

ican boarding schools in general owe much in origin and development to the early Moravians of Pennsylvania. The latter were pioneers also in organized vocational education, in teacher training, in classes for the general education of adults, and in the study of Indian languages and culture.

However "closed" the Moravian *Ortsgemeinen* may have been, the Brethren were surprisingly open-minded toward educational practices foreign to their experience, and were admirably adaptable to circumstances and to change. They did not cling so tenaciously to their own language as did many of the other German settlers in Pennsylvania, but readily adopted English and mingled comparatively freely with English-speaking colonists. This more highly socialized tendency undoubtedly gave them an influence in Pennsylvania education far in excess of their limited numbers, and brought a new and different element into the composite life of the State. When one considers that the Pennsylvania-German sects as a whole were not favorably inclined toward higher education, the work of the Moravians becomes even more significant. The Brethren found no place in their educational or spiritual convictions for the popular *Wie gelehrter, wie verkehrter* belief of some of the German groups. In contrast to the plainer sects which did not feel the need of a highly educated clergy, the Moravians held adamantly that learning without religion in ministers or teachers is a menace to the Church and its sacred function, and that religion without learning exposes the ministry and the instructional staff to the imposition of error and false doctrine. In the Brethren's scheme of education professional study was always approached by the avenue of liberal studies. Early Moravian education in Pennsylvania founded by men who had been trained in one or more of Europe's universities, was profoundly affected by the best educational practices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The belief that regarded the preparation of teachers not as an incident but as a fundamental necessity was responsible for the inclusion of the teacher-training function of Nazareth Hall at the time of the latter's reorganization in 1785. Nor did the Brethren resist the introduction of the public school system into Pennsylvania with the indignation and litigation employed by many other German groups. In fact, during the period of their "General Economy," they had had a system of public education fully supported by the community, a whole century before it was introduced into the State by law. Moravian opposition offered to the Common School Law of 1834 was

comparatively mild, and was prompted largely by the Brethren's fear of the secularizing influences of public education. But even such a righteous fear could not thrive long in hearts and minds of a people who lived the democratic way of life and believed in the democracy of death. It was never a characteristic of the Moravian Church to resist progress. To have continued to oppose equalization of educational opportunity would have been inconsistent with the principles of their democratic religious and political philosophy. Typical of Moravian cooperation and efficiency was the ready and smooth method by which the Brethren engrafted the Common School system upon their own admirable parochial schools, in which respect Bethlehem, the educational capital of Moravianism in Pennsylvania, was cited as the State's example of the ideal pattern of transition.

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ABBREVIATIONS

B.G.T.O.—Office of *Bethlehem Globe-Times.*

Diarium d. G. z. .....—Diarium der Gemeine zu .....

H.S.P.—Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

H.U.L.—Library of Harvard University.

L.H.—Linden Hall.

M.H.S.M.—Moravian Historical Society Museum.

M.S.C.W.A.—Archives of the Moravian Seminary and College for Women.

N.H.—Nazareth Hall.

Protocoll d. Prov. Helf. Conf.—Protocoll der Provinzial Helfer Conferenz fürs Ganze der Pennsylvanischen und umliegenden Gemeinen.

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94TH ANNUAL MEETING
of the
Moravian Historical Society

October 11, 1951

The business meeting of the Society convened in the museum at the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, October 11, 1951, at 11 A.M., the president, the Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp presiding. Seventeen members were present.

The reading of the minutes of the annual meeting held October 12, 1950 upon common consent was dispensed with as they had been previously approved by the Executive Committee.

Minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held September 11, 1951 were read and approved as read.

The Treasurer presented his annual statement as follows:

Cash on hand, October 1, 1950		
Checking account	$ 1,267.08	
Time deposit	1,574.46	
Receipts	1,050.49	
		$ 3,892.03
Disbursements		533.42
Cash on hand October 1, 1951		$ 3,358.61
Investments		
Lehigh Valley annuity bonds	2,000.00	
Second National Bank stock	1,000.00	
Defense bonds	12,610.00	
		$15,610.00
Trust Funds		
Helen Bell Memorial	$ 3,000.00	
Monroe County Memorial	96.17	
Zeisberger Memorial	257.00	
Publication Fund	2,729.43	
Rest House Fund	230.45	
Eugene Rau Estate	5,000.00	
Albert Brodhead Estate	500.00	
		$11,813.05

JAMES S. FRY, *Treasurer*

The report having been properly audited, was approved and ordered filed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The special committee comprised of the treasurer, James S. Fry, and the secretary, William E. Henry, reported that they visited the Hope, N. J. cemetery and found that the grass had been mowed during the summer months and that it was in favorable condition. They also interviewed Mr. Westbrooke, secretary of the cemetery committee. He said they appreciated the $15.00 appropriation from our Society; in reviewing the total cost of maintaining the cemetery we found that our portion should be $25.00 in the future. Moved and properly seconded, it was voted to donate $25.00 annually to the Hope, N. J., cemetery committee.

Bishop K. G. Hamilton reported for the Publication Committee that the proof of our Transactions, Vol. XIV, parts V and VI was in the hands of printers.

Discussion followed concerning the Publication Fund, it's legal use, etc. On motion it was resolved to have the president appoint a committee of three to make an investigation of this fund and report at a future meeting.

On a following motion it was voted that no capital of the Publication Fund should be used for current publications.

Bro. Swavely read a list of donations to the library and museum during the past year. He reported that a large number of people as well as school groups had visited the museum. Bro. Swavely also read a request from Bro. John F. Mormon for the privilege of photographing the paintings of John Valentine Haidt for use in a thesis he is writing. It being properly moved and seconded, his request was granted.

There was a request from Rev. Raymond M. Veh, D.D., for a loan of cuts pertaining to old Nazareth buildings and articles on the community referring to that period. On motion of Bro. Peters and Kern it was voted to grant the request.

NEW BUSINESS

Discussion followed concerning our financial status. With the increased cost of printing the "Transactions" and other expenses, the consensus of the members present was unanimous in feeling that our annual dues should be increased from $1.00 to $2.00. Duly moved and seconded, it was voted to increase the dues to $2.00 per annum. In a following motion it was voted to increase the Life Membership dues from $20.00 to $30.00 effective January 1, 1952.

On motion of Bro. Weinlick and seconded by Bro. Dreydoppel, it was voted that the Executive Committee institute plans to increase the membership of the Society.

The secretary presented the following names of applicants for membership in the Society:

For Life Membership: Robert P. L. Frick, Robert W. Miller, Harry J. Miller. For Active Membership: James O. Blanton, Paul deS. Couch, James B. Fleming, Wolfram Fliegel, Donald E. Fulton, John E. Gilliland, Eugene R. Glasser, Fredrich P. Hege, Carl Helmich Jr., David Henkelmann, Donald K. Kirsts, John H. Smith, Earl E. Stephan, Mrs. Earl Stroman, Samuel G. Vaughn, Robert Zerweck. Associate Membership: Gordon A. Hejl, Mrs. Helen I. Wilford.

The election for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, D.D., Ph.D.

Vice Presidents, The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Prof. H. H. Beck, Sc.D., The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, D.D., Ph.D., The Rev. John R. Weinlick, Mr. Andrew G. Kern.

Secretary, William E. Henry.

Librarian, The Rev. Edward H. Swavely.

Treasurer, James S. Fry.

Publication Committee, The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, The Rev. R. H. Brennecke, Mr. Henry B. Rau.

Board of Managers, Mr. Robert J. Desh, John E. Leibfried, Prof. John R. Weinlick, Robert S. Taylor Jr., Walter L. Peters, William E. Henry, James S. Fry.

Library Committee, Mr. Walter L. Peters, George W. Hahn, Dr. Samuel Zeller, Miss G. Elizabeth Bahnsen, Mrs. Charles L. Shimer, Prof. John R. Weinlick.

Graveyard, Robert F. Ziegler, J. Frederick Knecht, George W. Hahn, James S. Fry.

It being duly moved and seconded, the business meeting adjourned.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the business session of the Society and elected the nominees presented at the business meeting to the several classifications of membership to which they were nominated, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

The annual meeting was continued in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church at 1:15 P.M. Several selections by the trombone choir of the church announced the annual Vesper Meeting. Approximately one hundred and seventy members and guests were present. Stanza No. 1 on the leaflet was sung "What Praise to Thee, my Saviour is due for every favor, &c."

After the Vesper meal, the president read the names of the members who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year as follows: The Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, Eli L. Garber, Cornelius J. Gapp, Mrs. Mabel Hertz, Edward S. Loux, Mrs. Hannah Roest. In their memory the customary hymn was sung, all members and guests standing.

The president, Bishop S. H. Gapp, greeted the members and guests present and then presented one of our vice presidents, Prof. H. H. Beck, of Lancaster, Pa., who read a paper entitled "William Henry, Patriot, Master Gunsmith, Progenitor of the Steamboat." He mentioned his services in the Continental army, his association with our early government leaders, his manufacture of fire-arms, and his experiments with the invention of the steamboat and his assistance to Fulton in perfecting the steamboat and various phases of his life during the colonial period.

Following favorable comments on his paper, the president introduced Mr. Robert P. L. Frick, who read a short paper on his visit to Shekomeko and inspection of our monument designating our former mission near Sharon, Conn. He spoke of the missions abandoned in 1745 and the present condition of the monuments, and a number of humorous incidents he encountered during his visit.

The president thanked the speakers for their valuable contribution to the meeting and asked the members present for remarks on any business that should be brought before the meeting. As there was no response, he declared the ninety-fourth annual meeting adjourned after singing the fifth stanza on the leaflet as an appropriate closing hymn.

WILLIAM E. HENRY, *Secretary*

In Memoriam

J. Taylor Hamilton

was born April 30, 1859, in Antigua, British West Indies. He died January 29, 1951 in Bethlehem, Pa. He joined the Society in 1871.

Eli L. Garber

was born February 11, 1864, Donegal Springs, Pa. He died June 11, 1951 in Lititz, Pa. He joined the Society in 1944.

Cornelius J. Gapp

was born October 17, 1866, in Palmyra, N. J. He died in Bethlehem, Pa., February 2, 1951. He joined the Society in 1936.

Mrs. Mabel B. Hertz

was born February 9, 1887, in Ronks, Lancaster County, Pa. She died November 12, 1950 in Lititz, Pa. She joined the Society in 1935.

Edward S. Loux

was born October 29, 1879 in Aluta, near Nazareth,. Pa. He died May 23, 1951 in Nazareth, Pa. He joined the Society in 1916.

Mrs. Hannah Bardill Roest

was born February 15, 1864 in Nazareth, Pa. She died in Arlington, Va., January 31, 1951. She joined the Society in 1928.

95TH ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 9, 1952

The business meeting of the Society convened at 10 A.M. in the museum, Whitefield House at Nazareth, Pa., the president, the Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, in the chair. Twenty members were present.

The reading of the minutes of the annual meeting held October 11, 1951, was omitted, as they had previously been approved by the Executive Committee.

Minutes of the Executive Committee meetings held July 24, and September 18, 1952 were read and approved as read.

The treasurer submitted his annual financial statement, as follows:

Cash on hand, October 9, 1951	$ 1,768.37	
On time deposit	1,590.24	
		$ 3,358.61
Receipts		
Vesper	$ 124.00	
Annual subscriptions	322.00	
Sale of publications	370.62	
Interest	453.42	
Life memberships	160.00	
Donations	47.15	
		1,477.19
		$ 4,835.80
Disbursements		
Vesper	$ 137.93	
Salaries	300.00	
Printing and stationery	46.38	
Librarian's services and postage	60.94	
Pa. Historical Ass'n. membership	4.50	
Postage	50.74	

Printing Transactions XIV, parts V-VI	863.50	
Safe deposit box	3.60	
Commission on collections	17.00	
Insurance	6.00	
Light	2.00	
		1,492.59
		$ 3,343.21

Balance, cash on hand, Oct. 7, 1952

Checking account	$ 1,737.05	
Time deposit	1,606.16	
		$ 3,343.21

Investments

Lehigh Valley annuity bonds	$ 2,000.00	
Second Nat. Bank stock	1,000.00	
Defense bonds	12,610.00	
		$15,610.00

Trust funds

Helen Bell Memorial	$ 3,000.00	
Monroe County Memorial	96.17	
Zeisberger Memorial	257.00	
Publication fund	2,889.43	
Rest House fund	230.45	
Eugene Rau Estate	5,000.00	
Albert Brodhead Estate	500.00	
		$11,973.05

JAMES S. FRY, *Treasurer*

The report having been properly audited, was approved and ordered filed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Bro. R. H. Brennecke, reporting as chairman of the publication committee, stated that Dr. Haller's study of about six years on "Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania" will be the main contents of our coming Transactions, Volume XV. The manuscript of about six hundred pages, due to illness, was delayed in reaching the committee. This record covers a practically untouched field of both educational and church history and will command great interest. There are other valuable manuscripts to follow, however, we cannot make any definite announcement concerning their publication at this time.

The question was raised as to whether the payment of this publication should be deducted from the "Publication Fund"; also how far the Society went in publishing theses, &c. After discussion it was resolved to refer this whole question to the joint Executive and Publication Committees for investigation.

On motion, duly seconded, it was voted to determine the course for the coming year by the joint committees, as stated above, but that it shall be reviewed at the next annual meeting to approve a definite policy.

The Library Committee, Walter L. Peters, chairman, reported that the Library committee had a number of meetings in the museum at the Whitefield House with all members present. It was the opinion of the committee that the museum should receive attention through proper display of its relics and arrangement and preservation of its books, manuscripts and paintings, in its established center at the Whitefield House at Nazareth. The Library Committee had unanimously adopted and proposed to the Society the following resolutions:

(1) That the Moravian Historical Society engage an expert to advise on the proper organization of the museum in the Whitefield House.

(2) That the Society employ a competent person for the restoration of the valuable paintings in this museum of the Society.

Whereas the Library Committee believes that the manuscripts and books are an integral part of the museum, therefore be it resolved

(3) That the Society take proper steps to preserve in this museum the manuscripts and books.

Upon a proper motion and second, the report of the Library Committee was unanimously approved. It was specified that the

Society thus determined as a matter of policy that the pictures, manuscripts and books remain in the second floor of the Whitefield House.

On motion by Bishop Hamilton and seconded by Bro. Peters it was resolved, that any expenditure of funds in carrying out the resolutions presented by the Library Committee be under the direction of the Executive Committee. No other committees reported.

The secretary presented the following names of applicants for membership in the Society:

Transferred to Life membership: Miss G. Elizabeth Bahnsen, Miss Anastasia M. Bahnsen. Active membership: Gerhard D. Zeller, Miss Mary Stauffer Snively, Arthur Nehring, Daniel R. Jones, Franklin B. Johnstone, Marvin Henkelmann, Rev. Reuben H. Gross, John H. Giesler, Roy V. Demuth, Edward B. Clewell, Alfred Block, Alan H. Barnes. Associate membership: Miss Martha G. Reed, Charles H. Philhower, Holmes S. Gangewer.

Bro. Henry L. Williams suggested that inasmuch as our membership dues have been increased to $2.00 per annum that membership for students be established at $1.00 per annum. This was voted approved.

Also on motion of Bro. Williams, duly seconded, it was recommended that the Executive Committee establish a "Patron membership."

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, D.D., Ph.D.

Vice Presidents, The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.
The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, D.D., Ph.D.
Prof. H. H. Beck, Sc.D.
The Rev. John R. Weinlick, Ph.D.
Mr. Andrew G. Kern.

Secretary, William E. Henry

Librarian, The Rev. Edward H. Swavely

Treasurer, James S. Fry

Committees

Publication, The Rev. R. H. Brennecke, The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Bro. Henry B. Rau, The Rev. John R. Weinlick, Ph.D.

Library, Bro. Walter L. Peters, George W. Hahn, Prof. Sam-

uel Zeller, Miss G. Elizabeth Bahnsen, Mrs. Charles L. Shimer, The Rev. John R. Weinlick, Mrs. Walter L. Peters.

Board of Managers, Bros. Robert J. Desh, John E. Leibfried, Robert S. Taylor Jr., Walter L. Peters, Henry L. Williams, William E. Henry.

Graveyard, Robert F. Ziegler, J. Frederick Knecht, George W. Hahn, James S. Fry.

Bro. Robert S. Taylor made a preliminary report for the Committee of five appointees for the purpose of investigating the status of our various trust funds, and protection of the contents of the museum. This report dealt with the status of our trust funds. There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the business session of the Society and elected the nominees presented at the business meeting to the several classifications of membership to which they were nominated, and then adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

The annual meeting was continued in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church at 1 P.M. The trombone choir of the church announced the annual Vesper Meeting by playing several chorales on the lawn of the church. Approximately one hundred and eighty-five members and guests were present.

All standing, President S. H. Gapp requested that stanza No. 1 be sung, "What Praise to Thee, my Saviour is due for every favor, &c." After the vesper meal the president announced the names of those members who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year as follows:

Mrs. Robert J. Desh, William G. Miller, Wilson D. Seyfried, Mrs. George M. Shultz. Members and guests standing, the usual hymn was sung in their memory.

The president greeted the members and guests who were present and then presented the Rt. Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, who read a paper entitled "The Office of the Bishop in the Renewed Moravian Church." Among other things he stated that while the Moravian Church belongs to the churches with an ecclesiastical tradition, it does not give to the bishop the authority usually vested in this office. Indeed historians in the German Province have summed up the present Moravian position in a phrase which

can be translated: "To the Bishop does pertain the power to ordain."

Our forefathers in Bohemia introduced the episcopacy into their church fellowship in 1467, each bishop having his own diocese and governing it. During Zinzendorf's lifetime the bishop was also given limited authority in the Renewed Moravian Church.

But the so-called "Constitutional Synods" of 1764 to 1782 removed all administrative powers from the bishop and entrusted them to the men periodically elected to serve on the governing boards. From 1775 to 1899, however, all bishops were given an ex-officio seat and vote in General Synod. The American Province North, has also made it a rather consistent practice to commit to the bishops, either alone or in conjunction with others, the task of formulating statements which bear upon doctrine. However the conception of the episcopacy as an office dedicated to purely spiritual leadership is a characteristic contribution of the Moravian Church to the Church at large.

President Gapp after commenting on Bishop Hamilton's paper thanked him for his valuable contribution to the history of the Moravian Church. He then introduced Mrs. Henry B. Rau, who read a paper by her grand-father entitled, "Reminiscences by Edward T. Mack." This gave an account of his experiences while with his parents who were missionaries among the Cherokee Indians and up to the time when he entered Nazareth Hall, August 24, 1865. The president thanked Mrs. Rau for her paper, and called upon the secretary to read the names of the members who had joined the Society at this meeting and during the past year. He then called upon the members present for remarks or any business that should be brought before the meeting; as there was no response, he declared the ninety-fifth annual meeting adjourned after singing stanza number five on the leaflet, as an appropriate closing hymn.

WILLIAM E. HENRY, *Secretary*

In Memoriam

Mrs. Robert J. Desh

was born August 9, 1888 in Bloomsburg, Pa. She died April 24, 1952, in Bethlehem, Pa. She joined the Society in 1933.

Mrs. George M. Shultz

was born June 18, 1870, in Bethlehem, Pa. She died October 27, 1951, in Philadelphia, Pa. She joined the Society in 1929.

William G. Miller

was born December 3, 1894 in Bethlehem, Pa. He died February 17, 1952, in Bethlehem, Pa. He joined the Society in 1918.

Wilson D. Seyfried

was born October 9, 1868 in Cherry Hill, near Nazareth, Pa. He died April 8, 1952, in Bethlehem, Pa. He joined the Society in 1920.